

CANADA MANORLD TODAY



ROGERS
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SIMONSON
ROBERISON

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STORY OF NATIONS



BY

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PREFACE

This textbook is for you. In your course in Social Studies this year you are to begin the study of your own country, Canada.

The story of Canada, of the countries which first developed it, and of our great English-speaking neighbour, is a fascinating one. In this book the story is told again, especially for you. That is the first and most important thing for you to know about this book. It was written for you, with you in mind, with a full knowledge of your age, your background, your abilities, and your interests. Since it is known that you like a good story well told, a narrative style

has been followed throughout.

There is a definite pattern of development in each story. As you study this book you will notice that each story follows a definite pattern of development. It begins always with the natural geographic setting in which the story takes place. In this world people live on land masses with mountains, valleys, lakes, and rivers. they live on islands and sail the seas. The life of man is always affected by where he dwells. "The lay of the land" determines how he lives and even how he thinks. It is important, if we are to understand the ways of a people, to know something of the land that they inhabit. So you should make good use of the many different kinds of maps that you will find in this book. They are as much a part of the text as the words you read. When reading this book you should constantly ask yourself, "Where did this take place and what part did geography play?" For example, three hundred years ago there was already a fair-sized settlement around the small town of Quebec while as late as a hundred years ago the mainland of British Columbia was still inhabited only by Indians and a few traders and trappers. The reason for that can be found in geography. As you read, look to both text and maps for the answers to the many questions that you will ask yourself.

A Social Studies course teaches many things. You expect that a Social Studies course should teach you much about the geography and history of a country, about its people, its form of government, its language, and its culture. You will find, as you go along, that you will learn many other things from your course in Social Studies. You will learn how to read, with understanding, Social Studies material, how to use a dictionary, an encyclopedia, a map, an atlas, a library card catalogue, and an index. You will be asked to make outlines and to prepare good oral and written reports, to do committee work, and to take part in discussions. This book has been

specially designed to help you to learn all these things.

Learning how to study is a part of your education. Many useful aids to study are included in this book. The good student knows the value of effective ways of study; the weak student needs them particularly. So every student beginning this course should clearly understand how Canada in the World Today is planned to make his study effective.

- 1. Introduction to each major Part. At the beginning of each major Part of Canada in the World Today you will find (a) a symbolic picture or drawing; (b) the Part table of contents; (c) a map showing the particular region being discussed; and (d) a globe to show you where the region is in the world, and what area it covers. For example, turn to page 1, on which the story of our British heritage begins, and you will see what we mean. Here is the way to use these study aids. First examine the drawing on page I to see if you can recognize anything in it, even without having read the story. Then scan the list of chapters. It will give you a quick impression of what this Part of the book is about. Now, on the next page, study the map for a moment. Finally, on the right-hand page, read the special introduction—a kind of map study. As you read on, pay particular attention to the paragraph headings which are printed in bold-face type. These tell in a few words what is being described in the paragraphs. They are so phrased that they are easy to remember, and serve especially well when you are looking back over the chapter for review.
- 2. Illustrated Time Lines. The illustrated or graphic time lines are another special feature of Canada in the World Today. They are included not merely as decoration, but as a part of the study material in the text. One of the most difficult things in the study of history is a sense of time—when certain things happened in relation to other things. This sense of time is sometimes called historical perspective. It is a hard thing to achieve because it depends so much on memory and imagination. Here is where time lines help.

A time line is not simply a list of dates, events, or names, but is something like a parade or procession. In this procession the thing you want to remember stands in line, with something coming before and after it. By looking at the whole time line, you can tell where the procession is headed and how long it has been going by. Time lines show the parade of events and characters in the story of a certain nation or people. Turn to pages 16 and 17 to see the time lines for Great Britain. Then turn to pages 70 and 71. Here in Part Two, you see the time line in Part One repeated and just below it, the new time line for Part Two. The succeeding Part repeats the time lines that you have already seen, and puts below them the time line for the new Part you are reading.

- 3. Part Summaries and Self-Tests. At the end of each Part of Canada in the World Today you will find a summary which will give you important points of the Part you have just read. It will help you to recall the highlights of the story. Following the summary is a self-test. The good student always checks his own learning.
- 4. Interesting Things to Do. Also at the end of each Part you will find a suggested list of things to do with what you have learned. While studying a Part, select an activity which interests you. The list is merely suggestive; you, your classmates, and your teacher may think of many other good learning activities. But if you would learn to the point of mastery, do something with your knowledge.
- 5. Interesting Books to Read. Only when your new knowledge leads to new interest does it become significant. As we learn from the Bible, "Unto him that hath shall be given." Therefore, at the end of each Part, you will find a list of interesting books to read. Included in these lists are historical books, historical novels, books and magazines of travel and adventure, and biographical stories of interesting men and women. You can enrich your learning by reading one or two titles from each of these Part lists as you progress through your study of the story of your country.
- 6. Index. The index of a book is a valuable aid to efficient study. An index is so called for the same reason that the finger you point with is called the index finger. The index of a book points to what you want to find. The index in Canada in the World Today has been specially constructed for study purposes. The student who has acquired the index habit has reached the Sherlock Holmes stage of learning: he can track down almost any bit of information he wants to find. Whether it be in social studies or in other subjects, you should form the habit of using indexes.

The index of Canada in the World Today contains another useful feature—the pronunciation of difficult names and words. The first time a difficult word appears in the text, you will find a respelling, immediately following it, in brackets. If you see the word a second time and cannot remember how to pronounce it. you can easily turn to the index and look up the word. The respelling has been repeated there. The respelling is by syllables which will always have the same sound. Accent marks are used to show what syllables to stress.

The apostrophe is used in respelling syllables containing a vowel which is not sounded, as the second a in American | uh mer'i k'n | The apostrophe is used also in respelling the consonant combination sm [z'm].

If at any time you are uncertain about a pronunciation of a vowel or a diphthong, you can refer to this key.

| a ah | a as in man a as in arm | N | nasalized sound of vowel preceding the n ¹ |
|---------|-------------------------------|--|---|
| | | | |
| ai | i as in i ce | O | o as in odd |
| aw | au as in fraud o as in soft | œ | u as in urn |
| aw | lo as in soft | oh | o as in open, obey |
| | a as in play, chaotic | ou | ou as in out |
| ay | { ai as in fair ei as in vein | u (or uh) | u as in up |
| | | uh | a as in about |
| e (or e | h) e as in fell | yoo | u as in use, united |
| ee | e as in eve | <i>y</i> • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • | w do in woo, windod |
| i | i as in ill | | |

Make good use of the many aids to study which are a part of this book. If you do so, your study of Canada, your country, will be easier and more interesting.

¹ There is no equivalent English sound. For exact pronunciation, consult a foreign language teacher; or perhaps some student in your class who has studied French will show you the correct pronunciation.

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by

Lester B. Rogers, Fay Adams and Walker Brown

Revised for use in Canadian schools by

R. W. W. Robertson

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INTRODUCTION

"What is all knowledge but recorded experience, and a product of history?"

Why does your school course include Social Studies? It is always important that we should know the why of things. Often you must have asked yourself why your school programme includes Social Studies. If you ask your teacher this question he will answer that the purpose of instruction in Social Studies is to make us all better citizens. Once this is understood it will be easy for you to see why at least a part of your Social Studies programme should be devoted to learning the story of Canada, our own country.

But you may have the impression that there is not a great deal for you to learn about Canada. After all, you are a Canadian, you live in Canada, you walk the streets of its cities, go to Canadian schools, and read Canadian newspapers to keep up with what is going on in our land. Canada is all about us, and enters upon everything we do, and know, and think. What more do we need to know about Canada?

Canada is a difficult country to know. We must know a great deal more than that. One of the first things we must learn is that Canada is a very difficult country to know. One of our great Prime Ministers, of whom you will read later in this book, once said that while other countries have too much history, Canada has too much geography. That is a very true saving. As you will presently read in this book, Canada is divided by natural barriers into six separate and different divisions. Communication was very difficult until comparatively recent times, and so the people of each division lived within their own boundaries with little knowledge or contact with their neighbours in the other divisions. Eighty years ago, for example, Canadians were considered foreigners in the present province of Manitoba. From this came the tendency amongst us to think of ourselves in terms of the division in which we lived. We were British Columbians, for example, or Westerners, or Maritimers, and only in recent times have we come to think of ourselves, proudly, as Canadians.

Some of you may live on the Pacific Coast and be in constant contact with the sea. It may surprise you to know that thousands of Canadians living in the central plains have never seen the sea, probably never will see the sea, nor even any very large body of water. Similarly, thousands of people living in the Maritime

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Provinces have never seen that wonderful sight so common to the prairie dwellers, the great expanses of golden wheat glowing in the autumn sun while the combines work their way around the fields.

To make it more difficult to know Canada and our fellow Canadians, there is the fact that not all of us speak the same language. Almost a third of our population speak French as their first language; the remainder speak English; and since the majority of us speak only one language, it is entirely possible for two Canadians to meet and be unable to communicate with one another except by signs or smiles. So we may know a great deal about our own district, or even our own province, and about our neighbours, without knowing a great deal about Canada or our fellow Canadians.

This book is designed to give us knowledge so that we may understand our country. The best way to learn about a country and its people is to travel about in it, and see things for ourselves. But Canada is a large country, distances are great, travelling expensive, and for a resident of the Pacific Coast, for example, to embark on a tour of Newfoundland is still a major undertaking. The next best way to gain a knowledge of it is to read about a country in books. That is the purpose for which this book has been designed. The French have a proverb, "To know all is to understand all." The purpose of this book is to provide you with the knowledge about our country and its people so that you may understand more about both.

The story of Canada begins with the story of two European countries. A Canadian poet has written that Canada is the child of parents living abroad. Since a child always inherits something from both his parents, the story of Canada must begin with a study of the two countries, France and Great Britain, which between them were responsible for the discovery, exploration, and settlement of our country, and which contributed so greatly to our language, our culture, our tradition and our institutions.

Then you will read the story of Canada, beginning with a pilot's eye view of the whole country from East to West, for the geography of a country, as we have seen, can determine the way of life of its people. You will learn the exciting story of the discovery of Canada, of its settlement, and of the bitter wars that were waged for its possession. Canada had hardly been won for the British before it was almost lost to the Americans; but Loyalist Canadian and French Canadien, shoulder to shoulder, their differences temporarily forgotten, made certain that Canada should be an independent country. There followed a long internal struggle which ensured that Canada's form of government should be independent and democratic. Then the marvellous effort at co-operation amongst

men of many parties brought about Canada's emergence as a nation. All this you will read in *Canada in the World Today*, together with the story of how the new nation came of age in the course of two world wars and a period of troubled peace.

Here in Canada we live in a democracy. A democracy has been defined as "government of the people, by the people, for the people." If we are to be good citizens of Canada we have a responsibility to share in its government, and so we must know as much as we can about the form of our government. One Part of this book tells the story of how we are governed and what our responsibilities are to our country.

Just as a man cannot live a full life by himself alone, so a country cannot live well without relations with other countries. Canada's life is influenced by the fact that our country is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, has signed the Atlantic Pact, is a member of the United Nations, and at the same time is a North American nation. Our country shares this continent with the United States of America, one of the most important powers in the world today. That country has a great influence on our own and one of our most urgent problems is to learn to get on with our next-door neighbour, respecting his rights and opinions, and at the same time making sure that he respects ours. So the fourth Part of this book deals with the story of our next-door neighbour, the United States.

These are the stories that you will read in this book. They are told so that you will learn to know and understand more about your country and your countrymen. The authors hope that in reading these stories you will come to have an affection for your country, an appreciation of what it has achieved and may yet achieve as a nation, and a pride in the accomplishments of the men and women who have had a part in shaping our land. It is hoped that in reading the story of Canada's long journey from a small settlement on the rock above the St. Lawrence at Quebec to its present position as an influential member of the nations of the world, you will grasp something of the fact that improvement in communities must always be the work of individuals, and that you will gain a desire to share in the task of making Canada the country that we all want it to be.

Neither individuals nor communities are ever perfect. It would be a mistake to think that Canada is without shortcomings. Rudyard Kipling, the English poet, once wrote a poem called McAndrew's Hymn. In the poem a ship's engineer stands on the deck of a liner one night thinking over all the years that had passed since he had first gone to sea, and all the improvements that had been made in ships during those years. Looking into the

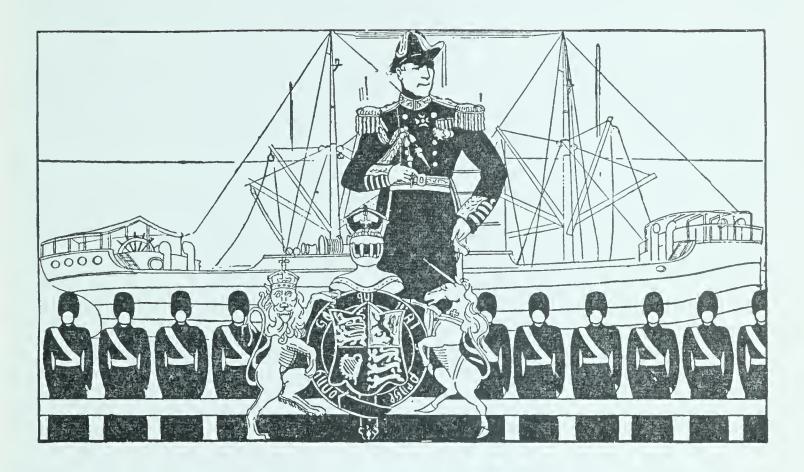
future in the light of the improvements of the past, he is led to say,

And by that light—now, mark my words—we'll build the Perfect Ship.

Canada has come a long way in the three hundred odd years since Champlain founded the first settlement on the St. Lawrence. If we all learn to know more about our country, what it stands for, and what our traditions are, if we come to appreciate our responsibilities to our community and our land, and determine to shoulder these responsibilities, we shall yet make of Canada a truly great nation.

R. W. W. R.

PART ONE



THE BRITISH PEOPLES BUILT AN EMPIRE AND SPREAD IDEAS OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

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SEA ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL ENGLISH CHANNEL BAYEUX NORMANDY



The Setting for the Story of the British People

JUST as a stage reveals something of the play to be presented, so the geography of a country gives us some idea of the life of the people who inhabit it. Before the curtain rises on the story of the British people, look at the map of the world in your atlas. See also the globe above. We see that the British Isles provide a very small stage for a people who have carried their civilization to all parts of the world. Why do you think the British became a great seafaring and industrial people?

Now look at the map on the opposite page. Can you tell why the British Isles have a temperate climate? London has been an important city in Great Britain since the earliest times. Can you find London on the map? What are some of the reasons for its importance? What part

of England was of great interest to the peoples of ancient times?

North of Hadrian's Wall you will find Edinburgh, the capital when Scotland was an independent kingdom, and the home of a very famous university. On the western coast of Scotland is Glasgow, famous for its shipbuilding. In Ireland, notice the two divisions, the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In the story of the British people, which follows, you will learn how these islands played a great part in the story of our land.

Chapter I -- The British Were an Island People

Great Britain. What do the words "Great Britain" mean to you? Perhaps they recall the story of Wolfe's soldiers, climbing to the Plains of Abraham to take part in the battle that was to make Canada a British country. It may be that you think of moving pictures of the wedding procession of a royal princess, or of the bombing of London by the Germans during World War II. The words may recall a song, like "London Bridge is Falling Down," or a story, like Dickens' "A Christmas Carol." The words "Great Britain" mean many things to Canadians.

Who are the British? We use the terms England and English, Great Britain and British, quite loosely; it would be wise to define them now. England, "that tight little isle," is actually only a part of an island. England, Scotland, and Wales are a single island, called Britain or Great Britain; and the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland together form another. These are the major islands of the British Isles. The English, Scots, Welsh, and the people of Northern Ireland are all British. So, too, are the inhabitants of many other parts of the Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire. We in Canada, for example, are both Canadian citizens and British subjects.

There is a saying that "the sun never sets on the British Empire." This saying is no longer quite true. Since 1945 Britain has granted selfgovernment to many of its former possessions. But at one period of their history these little islands off the west coast of Europe exercised an influence or control over about one-fourth of the earth's surface and about one-fifth of the people in the world.

Strong are the ties that bind. Canada is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations and is the oldest self-governing dominion of the Commonwealth. Much of our country was settled from Great Britain; many of the founders of our nation were British. The story of Great Britain, then, is especially interesting to Canadians. It gives us an understanding of the conditions that led to the forming of our own nation. It also gives us a knowledge of the origin of some of our most treasured liberties and privileges. The government under which we live is the result of a long struggle for freedom and justice which was waged and won by the British of an earlier day. The British people seem always to have had a gift for government and law. Thus when we use parliamentary procedure or enter a court of law we are following, here in Canada, ways that had their beginning in the British Isles.

One of the strongest ties that bind us to the mother country is language. It is true that there are differences, especially in new words. What we call a radio is usually called a wireless in England, and a radio tube is a valve. A street-car is a tram, a truck is a lorry, and the "movies" become the "flickers." There are also some differences in pronunciation and the inflection of the voice, but the language of the people in both England and Canada is English.

The seas separate the home of the English from the Continent. Ever since the beginning of man's story, the lives of people have been affected by their natural surroundings. As might be expected, the life of the early English was greatly influenced by the isolation of their homeland.

Although the British Isles are separated from the mainland they are in many ways a part of it. The English Channel is only a narrow strip of water. On clear days a Frenchman can stand on his home shore and see, about twenty miles distant, the white cliffs of Dover. Yet this narrow channel with its rough waters made it possible for the English to develop a separate nation, with characteristics decidedly different from those of the people on the Continent. The seas surrounding the British Isles have been like the moat of a feudal castle. They have been a protection without being a barrier to the customs and ideas of the other nations of Europe. Shakespeare, the English writer, has said—

This little world
This precious stone set in the silver sea,
Which serves it in the office of a wall,
Or as a moat defensive to a house
Against the envy of less happier lands. . . .

The English Channel and surrounding seas, however, did not give complete protection to the islands. Invaders, sometimes as pirates, came on these same seas to lay waste the coast and often to occupy the conquered land. But each time invaders settled in England they found themselves so separated from their native lands on the Continent that they became more and more like the people they had come to conquer. Thus the isolation of the British Isles helped the English to build a nation distinctly their own.

The British Isles have resources and beauty. You may wonder why the peoples of western Europe found these islands of the North Atlantic so attractive. People like to live in a country where nature has supplied many resources, a good climate, and a pleasant countryside. England has these attractions.

The British Isles are in the same latitude as Labrador, but the warm ocean current from the Gulf of Mexico sweeps across the Atlantic and up along the western coast of the British Isles. Thus the climate of England is neither very cold in winter nor very hot in summer. There are many rolling hills, numerous fine rivers and safe harbours, and beneath the surface of the land is a good supply of tin and coal, and some iron. Also, the sea provides an abundant supply of fish, which has proved a most important resource.

There is an old English fishing song that runs—

The husbandman has rent to pay (Blow, winds, blow,) And seeds to purchase everyday (Row, boys, row,) But he who farms the rolling deeps Though never sowing always reaps; The ocean's fields are fair and free There are no rent days on the sea.

The British Isles are very small compared to our country. The Province of Manitoba is about two and a half times the size of the British Isles, while Ontario is almost four times their size. Because of the limited size of the islands, and the need for trade and for defence, the British became great shipbuilders. They took advantage of the sea to become sailors and merchantmen, and to carry goods to all parts of the

world. They were famous traders.

The climate of the British Isles is warm and moist, and the rainfall is ample. Frequent rains on the fertile soil have produced green fields and verdant forests. One of the islands, Ireland, has come to be known as the "Emerald Isle." There are regions of the British Isles, of course, that are rugged and mountainous, and other parts that are low and desolate. In some of these less favoured regions rugged peoples, such as the Scots and the Welsh, have developed, who have provided many settlers for the new countries.

Chapter 2 — The Blood of Courageous Adventurers Flows in the Veins of an Englishman

England was inhabited during early times. There must have been people living in the British Isles from very early times. Many evidences of their existence have been found, such as arrow and spear heads, and since their implements were made of roughly chipped flints, these first Britons probably lived in the earliest period of the Old Stone Age. That was more than a million years ago. What we know about these people is largely supposition, but two thousand years before the birth of Christ there were people living in the British Isles about whom we have some reliable information. They lived in the Age of Bronze. Men of the Bronze Age needed tin to melt with their copper. This need brought the people of early England to the attention of the ancient world because they had tin. The Phoenicians [fi nish'uhns] in sailing the seas had discovered that fact. They became rich by supplying tin from the mines of Cornwall, England, to the countries of the Mediterranean.

During the Bronze Age Britain was conquered by the Celts. The people who lived in Britain during the Bronze Age were not able to hold the country for themselves. islands were too attractive to outsiders. About a thousand years before the birth of Christ, the Celts |seltz| from western Europe came to England and conquered the native inhabitants. The Celts were strong, tall fighters who used bronze weapons as well as horses and war chariots in battle. They learned to mine the tin of Cornwall and to carry on trade with their neighbours. They absorbed the early inhabitants of Britain and became the ancestors of the Scottish, Irish, and Welsh peoples. The Celts who



CAESAR LANDING IN BRITAIN

The British archers and spearmen could not prevent Caesar and his legions from landing in England in 55 B.C.; but the conquest of Britain took the Romans over 200 years.

remained in what is now called England came in contact with several other invading people before they became the Englishmen we know today. Let us see who some of these invading peoples were.

The Roman legions reached the British Isles. For hundreds of years the Celtic British enjoyed the British Isles unmolested. As we might expect, they saw something of the other peoples of Europe. They traded with the people who lived just across the English Channel. Phoenicians and Greek traders visited their shores.

Two thousand years ago the Roman Empire dominated all the civilized world. One of the leaders of the Romans, Julius Caesar [see zuhr], was a great soldier who brought under the control of Rome the country of the Gauls [gawlz] which is now France, and, across the Rhine, much of the modern country of Germany.

When Caesar was waging war

against the Gauls, he discovered that his enemies were receiving aid from the island which could be seen in the distance. So, about half a century before Christ, Caesar led an expedition against the Britons. The landing of Caesar is pictured above.

The legions of Rome were surprised at the resistance they met. There, near the white cliffs of Dover, stood the Briton warriors with glistening bronze spears. The soldiers of the mighty Caesar rushed amid flying arrows, spears, and rocks, and scattered their foe. But not until the following year could Caesar and his legions force their way up the river now called the Thames [temz] to a muddy village of thatched huts. Little could Caesar have imagined that some day London, for long the world's largest city, was to stand near that marshy spot. Caesar found that although he had defeated the Britons he had not subdued their spirit and, when

the Roman soldiers left, the island ceased to be a part of the Roman

Empire.

Caesar described and named the Britons for us. As many high-school pupils know, Caesar left some accounts of the people he found in Britain. He speaks of them as being tall, blue-eved giants with long vellow hair. To make themselves appear terrible to their enemies, the Britons stained their bodies with a deep blue dye. This practice caused the Romans to call them Bry: hons [brith"nz], meaning "painted folks." From this name has developed the term Britons. They wore short cloaks made of heavy skins and carried massive skin shields and sharp bronze weapons. These Celtic Britons made wagons with wheels, built thatched huts, wove wicker boats, and designed many ornaments.

Caesar was particularly interested in the strange religion of the Britons. Their priests carried on mystic rites in the depths of the oak forests. The oak tree was held in great reverence, and the mistletoe which grew on the oaks was sacred. The people wove baskets of the mistletoe in which the priests offered up sacrifices of animals and sometimes human beings. This form of worship is called the Druid [droo'id] religion, or Druidism.

A century later the Romans came again. For nearly one hundred years the Britons had their island to themselves. But about a century after the birth of Christ the Romans came again, conquering most of that part of the main island which we know today as England.

Many of the natives fled before the Romans into the mountainous parts which we now call Scotland and Wales, where they kept their freedom and independence.

The Romans found the savages of the north so strong that a wall was built by the emperor. Hadrian [hay'dri'n], to protect the new Roman colonies. Hadrian's wall stretched across England from the Irish Sea to the North Sea. It was eighty miles long, eighteen feet high, and nine feet thick. About every twenty miles a fort was built and manned by Roman soldiers. The ruins of Hadrian's wall may be seen today.

We may think of the wall, of course, as a monument to the military genius of the Romans. But it is also a monument to the spirit of independence and courage of the ancestors of the hardy Scotsmen of today. Later, many centuries after the Romans had left, the Englishmen themselves had a most difficult time when they tried to bring Scotland under their rule.

The Komans contributed to English civilization. Wherever the Roman legions went they carried Roman civilization. South of Hadrian's wall a network of fine roads was built, some of which still remain. About the Roman camps, villages and cities grew. The Latin word for camp is castra [kahs'trah]. When we hear of such English cities as Lancaster, Manchester, or Chester we know that they probably had their beginnings in a Roman camp or fort.

Over fifty walled cities were built by the Romans. In these cities and about the countryside, beautiful homes were constructed which included spacious rooms and luxurious baths. Occasionally, when an excavation is made in England, ruins of these homes are found, giving evidence of the Roman oc-

cupation.

For three and a half centuries, Britain was a Roman colony. The Romans treated the Britons harshly. But the Britons learned many things from the higher civilization of the Romans in language, customs, and methods of constructing roads and buildings. During the time of the Roman occupation, Christianity was brought to Britain.

Britain became England with the Anglo-Saxons in control. The Britons had come to depend upon the soldiers of Rome. When the Roman legions were recalled to defend their capital city in the early part of the 5th century, the Britons became the prev of the barbarian tribes north of Hadrian's wall and the barbarians from across the sea. Hurriedly the Britons sent a plea for protection to a Roman general, saying, "The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea throws us back on the barbarians." But the Romans themselves were in too great danger to send help.

The savage tribes of the north broke over Hadrian's wall. German barbarians from the shores of northern Europe sailed down the coast of Britain. Towns were burned, crops destroyed, and people slain or made captive. The plundering invaders from the continent were the Angles, the Saxons, and

the Jutes. These tribes are generally referred to as Anglo-Saxons. Within two and a half centuries these invaders had conquered and occupied much of Britain. Then the country ceased to be called Britain and became "Angleland" or "England." The Anglo-Saxons drove back the northern tribes and killed or made slaves those Britons who had not fled to the mountains of Wales. From this period of history have come down those wonderful legends of one of the British warrior kings, King Arthur, and his Knights of the Round Table. The Britons fought the invaders valiantly, but were overcome. The Latin language and other signs of Roman civilization almost completely disappeared. England became Anglo-Saxon. The Christian Britons gave way to their pagan conquerors.

The Anglo-Saxons made England their home. When the early Anglo-Saxons came to England they planned to make it their home. Like their descendants who settled much of our own country, they brought with them their wives and children. The English may well be proud of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors. They had a deep respect for women. To friends they were hospitable and against their enemies they were fearless. They believed in what we would call the simple life. Town life held little attraction for them. They lived on their homesteads and cultivated the soil. Their religion was that of other Northmen. They stood in awe of the powers of nature and of fate or destiny, which they called wyrd [weerd]. It is from this Anglo-Saxon word that

our own word weird is derived. The Anglo-Saxons expected little help from their gods. They felt that they had to work out their own problems, within the limits of fate, which no man could foresee or change. They were sternly selfreliant people, with a strong sense of duty.

Christianity returned to England. The Anglo-Saxon hordes of England, with their gods of nature, had almost stamped out the Christian belief. An energetic missionary, now called Saint Patrick, had established Christian churches in Ireland, but Anglo-Saxon England was heathen. In the last few years of the 6th century a Christian missionary by the name of Augustine [au'guhs teen] reached England and again brought the Christian faith to its inhabitants. Convents were established and churches were built. Anglo-Saxon England gradually became a Christian country once more.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. For a time Anglo-Saxon England was divided into a number of separate little kingdoms, each with its own warrior-king. This division resulted in constant quarrelling among the many rulers. Finally Egbert, the King of Wessex, which was one of the small kingdoms, showed himself to be the most powerful of these kings and became the overlord of the others. This move, however, did not bring the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms into close union.

The northeast wind was an ill wind for England. The Northmen whom the early Britons had feared were the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The

Anglo-Saxons also had Northmen to fear—the Danes, whose very name terrified them. The Danes began to visit the eastern shores of the British Isles near the beginning of the 9th century, some 350 years after the Anglo-Saxons had come to England. These Danish invaders came from the same parts of northern Europe where hundreds of years before the Anglo-Saxons lived. But the Danes did not care to settle down and till the land. Neither did they care to give up their gods Thor [thawr] and Woden [woh'd'n] for the one Christian God. They liked a life of adventure, pillage, and war.

Where there were riches, there was booty for the Danes; and England was tempting. Grain was in the fields; wealth was in the households; and gold, silver, and jewels were kept in the monasteries. In their Viking boats, equipped with coloured sails and long oars, the Danes would swoop down the coast upon the unsuspecting Anglo-Saxons. Sometimes they would quietly steal up some river and attack a village under the cover of night. We can picture their horned helmets glistening in the light of their torches. They broke into churches, monasteries, and dwellings; they stole the valuables, captured slaves, and set fire to the buildings. When the Danes returned home, their plunder and slaves excited others to ravage England. In those days, certainly, "the tight little isle" was neither safe nor merry. By the third quarter of the 9th century the Danes had turned from raiding to organized conquest. They had conquered all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms north of the Thames. Only Wessex remained independent and it was seriously threatened.

King Alfred outwitted the Danes. The English are noted for their resourcefulness and perseverance. These traits were shown by Alfred, a grandson of King Egbert. Alfred became King of Wessex about the middle of the 9th century, when he was twenty-eight. He well understood that his biggest task was to rid the country of the Danish robbers. Alfred gathered together an army and defeated the invaders. He forced them to stay in the northeastern part of England. During the remainder of Alfred's reign, the English no longer feared the Northmen.

Alfred the Great was a man of learning. The Danes driven back, there was now time to develop the arts of peace. Alfred used his opportunities. In his own words, his aim was "to live worthily while I was alive, and after my death to leave my memory in good works." He accomplished this aim so well that he will be remembered as Alfred the Great so long as the story of nations is told.

First, he protected his hard-won peace by organizing a strong army and navy. But Alfred was more than a warrior. As a man of learning he translated Latin writings into English so that they could be read by his people. Schools were established and Alfred made attractive offers to learned men on the Continent to come to England to teach his people. With the help of some of the monks, he wrote

what was called "the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," a history of England from early times, as far as the writers knew the facts. Everything important that happened in England down to two hundred and fifty years after Alfred's death was written in this record by the monks who had charge of the work thus started.

Canute, a Dane, became a good English king. Alfred the Great died at the beginning of the 10th century. During the next fifty years his descendants reconquered all of England from the Danes and united it for the first time into one kingdom. Within about a hundred years after Alfred's death, however, England had fallen completely under the control of the Danes. The Danish warrior Canute [kuh nyoot'] became King of England. The responsibilities of his new position seemed to change him. He was no longer the ruthless Dane, but became the wise ruler of England. He married an Anglo-Saxon queen and accepted Christianity. By protecting the churches and the monasteries he showed that, even though he was a Dane, he was willing to follow in the footsteps of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

There is an interesting story told about King Canute. It may be partly legend, but it gives us an idea of the kind of man he must have been. The people of his court tried to flatter him by saying that so great was his power that even if he told the waves to recede they would obey. Ordering his chair to be placed on the beach at the edge of the incoming tide Canute for-



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KING CANUTE WAS REALISTIC

King Canute chose a dramatic way of showing that he understood the flattery of his courtiers. Though the story may be legend, it gives us a good idea of the kind of man Canute was.

bade the waves to come farther. Of course the tide continued to rise. Then, turning to the men of his court, he said, "Let all men know how empty and worthless is the power of kings; for there is none worthy of the name but Him whom heaven, earth, and sea obey." A picture of King Canute with his flattering courtiers appears above.

King Canute's peaceful rule lasted about twenty years. After his death, dark days came upon England. With the passing of his weak, cruel sons who followed him on the throne, one after the other, the last of the Danes had ruled England.

The English had Northmen neighbours just across the Channel. Other descendants of the adventurous Northmen, however, were to get control of England. But to understand the story we shall have to go back to the time of Alfred the Great. While Alfred was fighting the Danish invaders, other sea rovers, the Vikings from the eastern shores of the North Sea, were visiting many parts of the world. They settled in Iceland and Greenland,

and some may even have visited the still undiscovered Canada. Then, during the early part of the 10th century, some of these Vikings raided the northern shores of France. Finding the country attractive, they settled near the mouth of the Seine [sayn] River. This part of France, just across the Channel from England, became known as Normandy, and the Northmen who had settled it were called Normans. As you can see, both these names come from the word Northmen. It is interesting to know that many of the early settlers who came from France to Canada were Normans.

The Danes who had settled in England had gradually become English. The Anglo-Saxon customs had really conquered them more completely than they had conquered the English. Much the same thing happened to the Normans in France. They intermarried with the French. They adopted the French language and many of the French customs. In time, they gave up the Viking gods for the one God of the Christians.

The Vikings in Normandy became civilized. The Normans in France, about the year 1000, were learning new, easy ways of living. Knights and their ladies, the manners of chivalry, and the duties of lords and vassals changed the rough Northmen. They probably found that their own respect for women fitted in well with the ideas of chivalry. The feudal system was not yet highly developed in England, and the Anglo-Saxons and the invading Danes had not come in

touch with the more polished customs of the Continent. The Englishman was content with the independent life on his farm or hunting in the forests.

When Northmen were again invading and settling England, the Normans, their cousins in France, would sometimes send their fighting men to aid the Danish invaders. To end this aid and to bring about more friendly relations with the Normans, an Anglo-Saxon king of England married a Norman girl. This union did not accomplish its purpose, for it was not long before the queen's Norman relatives used the excuse of relationship to lay claim to the English throne.

In 1066 William of Normandy became an Englishman. In the autumn of 1066 the last and greatest conqueror of England reached her shores. He was William, Duke of Normandy. It is not necessary for us to go into all the promises and quarrels which led William to claim the English throne. He wanted it; so he crossed the Channel to take it.

The King of England had just died. The King's council, composed of his great vassals, had elected Harold, a powerful Anglo-Saxon noble, as the new king. But Harold knew that he would have to defend his title.

When in 1066 William of Normandy arrived with his well-trained band of followers, Harold met him with his army near Hastings, a small town in southern England. The fierce Battle of Hastings is one of the most important in the history of the world. In it Harold was



Drawing by John C. Wonsetler

HARVEST TIME IN A FEUDAL VILLAGE

The feudal castle which overlooks the peasants' harvesting must have been a central land-mark for them. Probably they would have difficulty in imagining a life not centred in the feudal castle.

killed and his army defeated. As a result of this success the Normans quickly gained control of England.

Oddly enough, much of our information about the Battle of Hastings comes from a tapestry named for the town of Bayeux [ba'yoo'] in northern France through which Canadian troops passed in their invasion of Normandy in World War II. The tapestry is about two feet wide and two hundred feet long. On it are pictured scenes of the struggle between Harold and William.

A new race of Englishmen begins. You will remember that the Anglo-Saxons came to England as invaders and settled down to become Englishmen. The Danes did likewise. And now we find the Normans becoming Englishmen. Within a century and a half they had

adopted many of the English ways and had intermarried with the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes. But, as we shall see, the Normans also brought many changes to England.

The Normans were great organizers, and William the Conqueror was not content with conditions as he found them in England. He wanted a strong central government. After many bitter contests he took the lands away from the Anglo-Saxons and parcelled them out to his followers. This method, which was coinmon on the Continent, was known as the feudal system, and William introduced it into England with himself as chief feudal lord. All lands were received directly from him, and thus all allegiance was due directly to him, the King. This plan made the power of the English throne much greater than it had ever been. The feudal system, which had brought protection for the weak and power for the lords of the Continent, also brought law and order to England. By establishing direct royal control of all parts of England, and by taking real power for the throne, William the Conqueror laid the foundation for the English nation.

Hundreds of years later, when the French were settling Canada, a simple form of the feudal system was introduced into this country, where it played a part in settlement. The King of France granted lands in Canada to seigniors who, is return for the grant, promised to clear the land and settle people on it. But the Canadian seignior had few of the powers or privileges of the great feudal lords of England.

The Normans brought about other changes in England. Norman art and architecture became common. Along with their organizing ability, the Normans brought new interests and skills to the Anglo-Saxons. The manners and ideas of continental chivalry were added to the earlier feudalism of the Anglo-Saxons. The Anglo-Saxon language was enriched by new words from the Norman French. In the main, these were words which had been used by the upper classes in France. For example, Anglo-Saxon lamb was called mutton by the Norman lord; pig became pork; and cow became beef, and calf became veal. These terms, however, did not come into common use in England for several generations after the Norman conquest.

Norman ideas and customs merged with those of the Anglo-Saxons. Inter-marriage also took place. The result was a new sort of Englishmen. Surely we may consider the year 1066 an important milestone in the long story of the

English peoples.

The later Norman kings made England a strong nation. For almost a century after the Battle of Hastings, Norman kings ruled England. Because of the lands which they held on the Continent, the English people were inclined to look upon the Norman kings, and their successors of French ancestry, as foreign intruders. The common people resented the establishment of forest preserves where only the king might hunt. They disliked, too, being forced to list all their property in a record called the Domesday Book. This listing made it too easy for the king to know what they could pay toward the support of the kingdom. But these measures and many others were forced upon them. Under the driving force of the Norman kings, the people were compelled to consider the commands of their king before their own wishes, and the good of the kingdom before the local interests of their town, village, or countryside. England was becoming a nation, and the English one people. What kind of a nation, we shall read in the next chapters.

Chapter 3 — The English Struggled for Justice and the Right of Self-Government

William the Conqueror began a new age for the British. You will recall that at the Battle of Hastings, in 1066, William of Normandy met and defeated the English king, Harold. We have already told you of the many fine things accomplished under the new English king, William of Normandy. Under his rule and during the reign of his second son, England had the strongest government of any country in Europe.

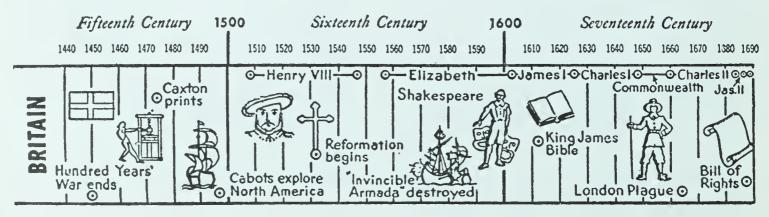
Then came a brief period of civil war and anarchy. For a time it seemed that all of the good work of the early Norman kings would be undone.

Henry II brought law and order to England. About a hundred years after the Battle of Hastings, Henry II became King of England. He found conditions bad. Powerful barons had been building strongly fortified castles. They were ignoring the sovereignty of the king and were little better than armed robbers. Henry II was no weakling. He sent his men through England to tear down many of the castles. He also released prisoners whom the barons had thrown into their dungeons, and he protected the

common people against the unfair demands made upon them by the barons. You probably have heard of jury trials, circuit judges and grand juries. All these ways of securing justice can be traced back to the time of Henry II. They are among the most important contributions of the English to the progress of civilization.

Courts and juries were created to insure justice. Before the days of Henry II the Anglo-Saxons depended on the old medieval custom of using ordeals to determine the innocence or guilt of an accused person. An ordeal was the required performance, by the accused, of a dangerous, painful feat such as walking barefooted over red-hot plowshares. If the accused performed such a feat without suffering injury or death, his innocence would be established. The decision had nothing to do with legal inquiry, but was based on the theory that a superior power would, if the accused were innocent, intervene to protect him.

The Normans settled their personal differences by fighting duels. In the baron's court, the one who could pay the highest fee usually



won his case. To correct these evils, King Henry created a jury system and sent justices to hold court in

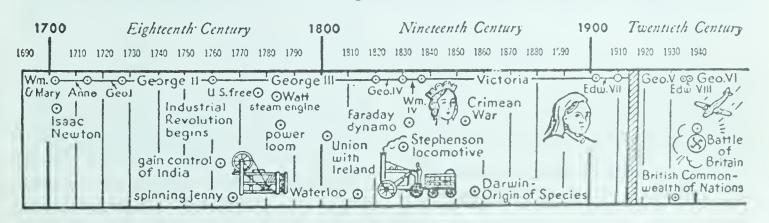
all parts of England.

Under the jury plan the king's officers called in twelve men from each neighbourhood to tell under oath of any crimes committed in the neighbourhood. This was something like our grand jury. The justices, or judges, would then decide the case. A century or more later, special juries began to be used to decide whether the accused was guilty or innocent. By means of these "petty juries" as they were called, the accused gained the right of trial before his peers, or equals, a right held dear in all civilized countries. In this way our modern grand and petit (or petty) juries were started.

The principles of justice are expressed in the English common law. During the time of Henry II another step toward law and order was taken. It was the development of the English "common law." As the judges of Henry II went about on their circuits holding court, they kept a careful record of the decisions that were made. Finally these decisions grew into a group of principles, or accepted ideas, to which judges could refer when a new case had to be decided. In this way the English common law had its beginning.

Many of the rules of justice which are used today by lawyers and judges in Canadian courts are based on the principles or ideas of English common law.

Henry II made the kingship important in the eyes of the people. The fact that this new system of courts and justice had been established by Henry II made the English people think more favourably of their king. Englishmen were gradually becoming nation - minded. money fees from the courts, which poured into the royal treasury, also helped to strengthen the position of the king. But Henry II did not stop here. He issued orders that all men should equip themselves with weapons. These they must not sell or pawn, for they must hold themselves in readiness to fight for their king when called upon. The King further strengthened his position by encouraging the payment to him of money instead of the performance of the many feudal services. When the king no longer had to depend upon the armies of the barons, but had funds with which he could raise his own army, the English throne became more powerful than ever. Henry had laid the foundation of monarchy for England but English kings did not have armies of their own until the 14th century.



Henry II had difficulties with the Church. It was during Henry II's reign that a struggle between the power of the medieval Church and the English kings reached a climax. Thomas à Becket had been appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry for the purpose of uniting the Church and the rulers for the benefit of the monarchy. Becket proved to be stubborn, and did not obey Henry II's orders. Becket warned Henry that if he persisted in trying to run the affairs of the Church, "this friendship would soon turn to bitter hate." Henry, becoming angry, remarked that he wished Becket were dead. Some of Henry's own soldiers took the King at his word, followed Becket to Canterbury, and murdered him. This act placed the King in the wrong, and he was forced to set aside his plans to limit the power of the Church.

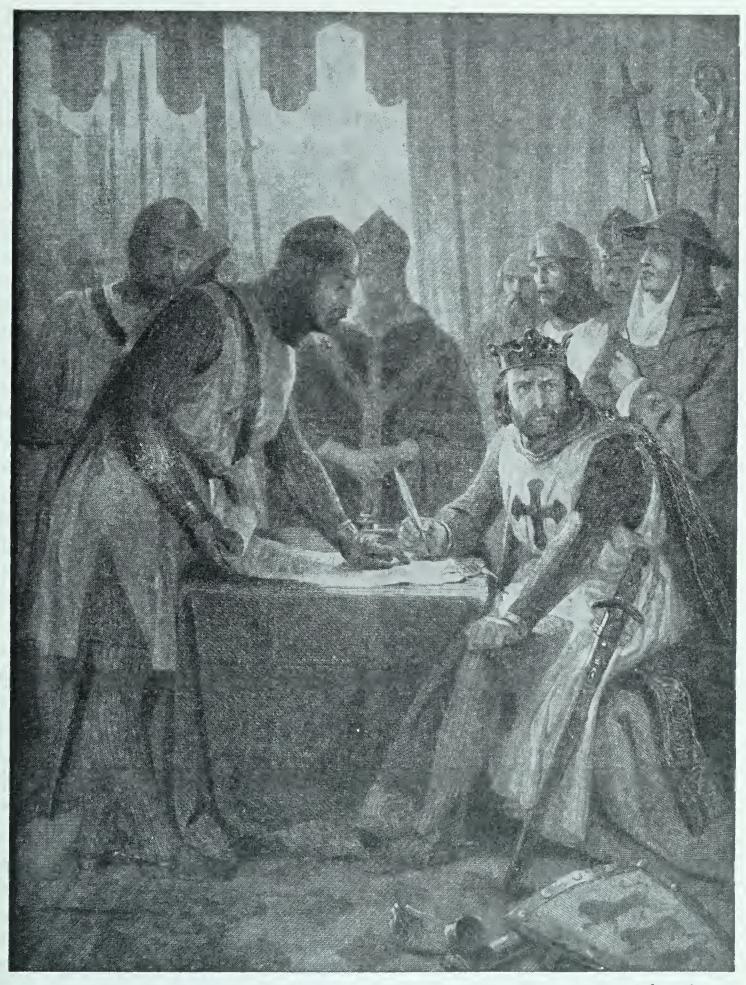
The kingship gradually lost power to the barons. William of Normandy had conquered England only by the help of his own barons. Henry II had to bring about order by crushing the barons and feudal lords, and asking for the help of the so-called middle class and of ministers raised from the ranks. The rulers that followed used their own methods to stay on the throne.

How Englishmen got their first charter of liberties. Have you noticed that thus far in our story of England the laws were made to control the people and not the kings? The kings were supposed to rule wisely and justly. Many of them, however, were interested more in their own pleasures than in watching out

for the good of their people. This was particularly true of King John, son of Henry II, who followed his brother Richard on the throne. He ruled England during the early part of the 13th century. He was cruel, unjust, and generally unpopular. He did not respect the rights his father had sold to the English towns and the English people. He persecuted the Jews for their wealth. His subjects were thrown into prison without trial. Violators of the law found that they could win their freedom by gifts to the King. The barons particularly, who knew their rights, were angered by the unjust acts of King John.

As you might expect, the barons revolted and joined forces against the King. Early in the summer of 1215, King John met the barons, and bishops and abbots, who, being the king's vassals, rated as barons. The meeting was at Runnymede on the banks of the Thames River, a few miles from London. The King saw that it would be useless either to fight or to argue with the rebellious nobles; so he promised to respect their rights. The barons forced him to sign a document listing these rights. Copies were then sent throughout England to let the other barons know about their new freedoms. No king after John was able to ignore entirely this early charter of the rights of the nobles. The document is so famous that it is called the Great Charter; sometimes it is given the Latin form, Magna Carta [mag'nuh kahr'tuh]. Here are some quotations from it.

No freeman shall be taken . . . imprisoned . . . or exiled or in any way destroyed



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KING JOHN SIGNING THE MAGNA CARTA

The Magna Carta, which a reluctant king is being forced to sign in this picture, was in the United States on exhibition at the World's Fair in New York when World War II broke out. Together with the Constitution of the United States, the Magna Carta was hidden in a secret place until the fall of 1944, when all danger of bombing was considered over in the Western Hemisphere. Why has the Magna Carta been so carefully protected?

—except by lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

To no one will we (that is, the king) sell, to no one will we refuse or delay, right

or justice.

No constable—of ours (the king's) shall take any one's grain or chattels (property) without immediately paying for them in money.

Did you find in these quotations beginnings of constitutional government?

The Great Charter contained many other guarantees of the barons' special feudal liberties and rights. The king was no longer to ask unfair money payments from the barons who gave him military service. The Church also received certain rights. Its property was not to be touched by the king. And before the king could collect any special taxes, he was required to call a meeting of the barons and the churchmen to get their permission.

One of the most important things about the Great Charter was that it insisted that the king act according to law instead of his own personal wishes. This partly explains why there developed in England what is known as a "constitutional monarchy," or a kingship based upon law. English law was made to apply to the king as well as to the people. The Magna Carta gave the barons more power than ever before over any king who might rule England. It is well to remember that this same charter did not benefit the great mass of people. It merely guaranteed to the nobles and churchmen certain feudal rights or liberties in their dealings with the king. It did not permit the common man to have a voice in government. His rights and responsibilities in government were still to be recognized.

The English people began to take a share in their own government. The signing of the Magna Carta by no means settled the political disputes between the kings who followed John, and the wealthy barons and feudal lords. For the next two hundred years the struggle between the monarchy and the barons went on. At various times during this period certain events happened which helped in the gradual building up of a more representative form of government for the great mass of the English people. But the "commoners," or middle class, were not always to be silent. Here is how the first steps were taken toward creating a representative government such as we have in our own country of Canada.

During the time of King John and the ruler who followed him, the king's council had met frequently. Gradually the king's council came to be known as the Parliament [pahr'li m'nt]. The word "parliament" comes from the French parler [pahr lay'], which means "to speak." Sometimes the discussions of this group were heated and the feelings bitter. The trouble was usually over the levying of taxes. The great nobles and the high clergy were wealthy and so were much concerned about matters of this kind. But there were also large land-holders in the country, and rich merchants in the rapidly growing towns, who had to pay taxes but who had no voice in the Parliament. These last mentioned belonged to the so-called middle classes.

Just as we found the barons revolting against King John in 1215, so we find the leading barons fifty years later revolting against Henry III, a ruler who was ignoring the provisions of the Great Charter. The barons threw the King into prison and called a meeting of the Parliament. The barons sought the support of the suppressed English themselves and invited the towns to send representatives for the first time. This was about two hundred years after the Battle of Hastings. Thus some of the middle classes were given a voice in the government. Such a procedure did not become customary at once, but was taken up again some sixty years later and then did become customary. The common man was winning his rights.

In the earlier sessions the representatives of the middle classes met in the same room with the barons and clergy. Later they met in a separate room, and became known as the House of Commons. The barons and clergy came to be known as the House of Lords. Ever since that time Parliament has been divided into two branches — the House of Lords and the House of Commons. As the story of England grows, notice the ever increasing strength of the House of Commons and the weakening of power in the House of Lords.

Parliament controlled the nation's purse. At first Parliament was not a law-making body. It simply met to consider the king's requests, which were usually for money. When an

English king needed money badly, however, the members of Parliament sometimes would grant taxes only in exchange for rights granted by the king. In such cases Parliament would send a petition to the king. If he signed it, Parliament would grant the taxes he wanted. Because the petition bore the king's signature, it would become binding on the whole nation. In this way Parliament won the right to make laws.

The next step, of course, was for Parliament to insist upon knowing how the money from taxes was to be spent before it was granted. Soon Parliament claimed the right to say who should inherit the throne upon the death of a king. All these rights were won by the end of the 14th century. The Kings' need of money for the Hundred Years' War with France gave Parliament more and more opportunity to ask for privileges in return for taxation. Because Parliament controlled the purse of the nation, its power gradually grew until now it is very much greater than the power of the English king.

Before the final triumph of Parliament, however, there were to be other quarrels between king and Parliament, in the course of which the nation would be torn by civil war, one king would be executed and another driven from his throne. In the chapter which follows you will read of these events and the victory at last of the people's representatives. This victory was to be important to England at that time. As we shall see, it was also to become important for Canada.

Chapter 4 — The British Developed a Limited Monarchy and Established the Church of England

Rivalry for the throne of England led to civil war. The long political history of England is really the story behind the kings of England. There were intrigues, plots and counterplots, and local wars among many groups. The barons disregarded democratic processes in government to build up their own power against the kings. The House of Lords was in constant struggle with the king; the House of Commons gradually took over the work of getting through constitutional reforms. This movement began in the 13th century.

In the 15th century the struggle for the rule over the English people came to a head in civil war. The rival families of Lancaster and York then fought for control of the English throne. This struggle has come to be known as the Wars of the Roses because a red rose was the badge of the House of Lancaster and a white rose was the badge of the House of York. At the close of these wars, the House of York was victorious, and the throne of England went to one of its members, Henry Tudor, called Henry VII.

Taxation continued to cause trouble in England. During these years of rivalry for the English throne, there was no advancement toward sound constitutional government. After the Wars of the Roses there followed more years of turmoil and conflict. You may wonder why the people stood for all this strife.

There seem to be several reasons for its duration: (1) the people had great reverence for the king; (2) the king controlled the army by appointing its officers and paying their wages; (3) the loyalty of the army was to the king, not the people. A maxim of the day was "he who controls the army controls the government." But it was the common people who really paid the bills for the long wars—by heavy taxation.

From the 13th century on, there was conflict between the powerful barons and the rich merchants for control of taxation. Every king had to declare his belief in the principles of the Magna Carta before Parliament would approve his decisions and give him the necessary funds to continue his power. By 1500, however, with the establishment of the Tudor line of kings, a new system of taxation had come into use. This included direct taxes on personal property, as well as upon income from land rents, and fees. were also taxes on Church property and income. Taxes from whatever source, however, were difficult to collect. Consequently, kings were constantly seeking new means of raising funds to maintain their armies. Naturally, these efforts led to trouble between the king and Parliament.

Henry VIII broke with the medieval Church. In the midst of all this political turmoil, the Reformation

was beginning on the Continent. For many years the Roman Catholic Church had been the only Christian Church in most of the countries of Europe. Without a rival it had become very powerful, and as so often happens when an institution has been too powerful too long, corrupt practices had begun to be common. Many priests and leaders of the Church of Rome had begun to demand that these practices should be reformed. Back in the 14th century John Wycliffe [wik'lif], the forerunner of the Reformation in England, attacked many of the beliefs and practices of the Church. He also translated the Bible into the language of his countrymen, so they could read it for themselves. Then he trained "poor priests" who wandered about the country spreading the message of the Bible.

When the German monk, Martin Luther, began to demand reform in the Church in the early part of the 16th century, Henry VIII, one of the kings of the Tudor line, was on the throne of England. King Henry was then a devout Catholic, and was shocked at Luther's bold criticism of the beliefs and practices of the Church of Rome. Henry even wrote a pamphlet against the teachings of the German monk. The Pope was so greatly pleased with the support that Henry VIII had given the Church that he bestowed on him the title "Defender of the Faith."

All English rulers have since been called "Defender of the Faith." The faith, however, which the English king today promises to defend is



After Holbein

HENRY VIII

To the German portrait painter Holbein, King Henry VIII must have been an arresting subject—although he might have been an extremely restless poser. Holbein's portrait shows the king at the age of 49.

not that of the Roman Catholic Church but of the Church of England. It may seem surprising that the same Henry VIII who, with his pen, came to the defence of the Church of Rome was the King who broke off relations with the Pope. The break marked the beginning of England's turn to Anglicanism.

The story of King Henry's break with the Pope is too complicated to give in detail here. The English King disliked the influence that some Churchmen had in English political matters. Then, too, there were rich Church lands that Henry wanted for himself or for his favourites. Moreover he wanted a son who would be heir to his throne. Because his wife had not given birth



Robinson & Ward: Rulers of England (Harrap)

QUEEN ELIZABETH

Queen Elizabeth outwitted kings and made England one of the leading nations of Europe. In this portrait the titian-haired queen is costumed with the elaborateness that she strove for, although it did not suit her mentality and temperament.

to a son, he asked the Pope to declare his marriage illegal. When the Pope refused his request, King Henry decided to take matters into his own hands. He brought the Church in England under his control, made himself its head, and proclaimed that the power of the king, and not the Pope, was supreme in religion as well as in politics.

Of course the Pope declared King Henry a religious outcast and ex-

communicated him. Once before, when an English ruler, King John, had been threatened with excommunication, he had followed the dictates of the Church. But that was in the 13th century. Henry VIII was living in the 16th century and times had changed. He ignored the Pope and set about to make his position secure. He appointed his own bishops and other Church officers. These officials declared his marriage illegal so that he was free to marry again. He seized Church lands. He distributed a part of this land among his friends but kept a goodly portion of it for himself. He took over, plundered, and destroyed monasteries and other Church property, including many schools. He used some of the money to build new schools, but most of it went into his private coffers. Since the people had had some part in these activities and no longer had to pay money to the Church, they were loyal to Henry VIII. This was especially true of the nobles who had been given Church lands. This seizure of Church property greatly lessened the burden of taxation on the common people. The wealthy classes benefited also, because their taxes were not greatly increased. Consequently there was little clash between king and Parliament. The House of Lords and the House of Commons continued to meet, but only occasionally and only to approve the king's actions. Thus you can understand that as the Tudor kings continued in power, the English government became more absolute. The king settled all political disputes without the consent of

Parliament. The people had no say in their own government.

Queen Elizabeth re-established the Church of England. Great religious turmoil followed the death of Henry VIII. He had broken off relations with the Church of Rome, but the English people were still divided in their religious and political beliefs. The Roman Catholics longed to restore the power of the Pope. Protestants were persecuted and many were put to death. About ten years after the death of Henry VIII, his daughter Elizabeth came to the throne of England. (She had been preceded in turn by a brother and a sister.) There has been no greater period in English history than the years of Elizabeth's reign. Many reforms were made under her rule. England gained great power and respect among the nations of Europe. For these and other reasons this time has come to be known as the Elizabethan period. So we often hear of the Elizabethan period in art, in drama, and in other fields. A portrait of Queen Elizabeth is shown on page 24.

Everyone was wondering which side the new Queen would take. Would she, like her brother during his short reign, aid the Protestants, or, like her sister who preceded her on the throne, support the Roman Catholic Church? Elizabeth was well educated, resolute, imperious, shrewd, and, above all, devoted to her country. She was determined to rule for all the English people and not be controlled by any foreign power.

Elizabeth turned neither to the Roman Catholics nor to the most

extreme Protestants, who differed from the beliefs of the English Church. She chose a middle course and re-established the Church of England, carrying on the work her father had begun. This Church, as organized by Elizabeth, retained the system of organization and many of the forms of worship of the former Church. Under her leadership all matters of religion were placed under the control of the government. She appointed her own Church officials who prescribed the form of worship that should be Gradually all of the followed. churches in the country were brought into the national Church of England, and the clergy were required to swear allegiance to the Queen and to the national Church or give up their positions

A strong government added strength to the Church of England. Religion was only one of the many problems that Queen Elizabeth had to face when she came to the throne. It can easily be understood that support given to the new national Church would depend upon the power of her government. She was shrewd and bold in attacking problems.

The nobles were depriving the peasants of their lands and thereby increasing the number of the poor and homeless. Queen Elizabeth had laws passed against this practice and levied a tax to feed the hungry. The guilds, which were the trade unions of that time, could no longer control their apprentices and other workmen or the goods they made. The labourers were suffering from lack of work and the people were in need of the craftsmen's goods. The

government drew up regulations that ended many of the difficulties. Trade was growing less year by year because the different kinds of moneys used had no fixed values. Elizabeth's government took over the coinage of money and established relative values of different coins which are still recognized. Commerce, both at home and with other countries, began to increase.

In meeting these and other problems so effectively, Queen Elizabeth gained the good will and support of the people and undermined the power of the nobles. No one, not even Parliament, was able to oppose her successfully. Naturally, this power of Queen Elizabeth's government added strength to the Church of England.

Queen Elizabeth protected England and the national Church from foreign foes. When Elizabeth became Queen, two questions, which were sometimes regarded as one, were of great interest to her people. Whom would Queen Elizabeth marry, and with what country would she form an alliance? Elizabeth, however, was determined to avoid being drawn into foreign wars and to keep her shores free from invasion. policy of peace was difficult. Pope had opposed Queen Elizabeth's efforts to make England a Protestant nation. King Philip II of Spain was a Catholic and felt that he should aid the Catholics in England. He offered to marry Queen Elizabeth and continue the alliance between the two countries. Queen had many other suitors, among them the King of France, who also hoped for an alliance with

England. She held her royal suitors in suspense for years, but finally declined both a marriage and an alliance which might plunge England into war.

When it seemed that Elizabeth would not marry and leave an heir to the throne, her cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, a devout Catholic, sought to be named as her successor. The Catholics in England even plotted to put Mary on the throne. The plotters were discovered and put to death. In the end, Mary suffered a like fate.

The Spanish ruler felt that he should avenge Mary's death as well as punish the English for breaking with the Church of Rome. Furthermore, he resented interference by the English with Spanish trade and colonization of America. In the war that followed, Spain was defeated. England was saved from invasion and the Church of England was protected from the vengeance of the Spanish Catholics.

The Reformation in England laid a foundation for religious freedom in England and America. The Church of England was opposed by the Catholics, and also by some Protestants who objected to it because it retained so much of the beliefs and forms of worship of the Catholic Church. They came to be known as "Puritans" since they were continually insisting upon what they considered a purer form of worship than that of the established Church. Many of the Puritans, as well as some Catholics, came to this continent to gain religious freedom and to found the colonies that, as we shall read, later became the United

States. Queen Elizabeth was able to make the Church of England secure during her reign, but she could not settle the many questions of religion for all of the English people.

While these religious struggles were going on in England, the spirit of the Reformation was bringing about changes in other parts of the British Isles. Under the influence of the great reformer, John Knox, the people of Scotland became Protestant. This caused a very difficult situation in that country since the Queen, Mary, remained a Roman Catholic. After Queen Elizabeth's death the religious conflict continued for years. There was not only quarrelling between those who wished to follow the established Church of England and those who wished to follow the Pope, but the various Protestant sects often carried on heated discussions and even conflicts among themselves.

As a result of these many religious differences, the English people gradually came to see that there should be freedom of religious worship for all. We may consider this principle of religious freedom another contribution of the English peoples to the progress of civilization. Today throughout the British Empire we can find many different faiths, each of which is allowed to worship as it sees fit.

English kings continued to battle Parliament for the right to govern. The English monarchs of the 16th and part of the 17th centuries had again become very powerful. Some of them were industrious, clever, and capable. At the same time the

barons, who were constantly opposing the kings, had become less powerful. Long wars had thinned their numbers. Feudalism was gradually dying out and with it the feudal powers of the great lords decreased. Englishmen began to look more and more to the king as the head of the nation. Gunpowder came into use at about this time, and as the king controlled all cannon, he found it comparatively easy to keep down any ambitious baron. Furthermore, England was beginning to carry on trade with other nations, which meant not only a richer and more contented country but also a new source of funds when the king needed money. All of these advantages to the king made it begin to look as though Parliament would need to take steps to protect the rights which it had won.

Under such conditions it is not surprising that a few of the English rulers should come to the conclusion that they were all-powerful. In the early part of the 17th century we find a king who boldly proclaimed that he ruled by "divine right."

James I tried to rule by "divine right."
Queen Elizabeth was the last of the Tudors. When she died, early in the 17th century, there was no successor to the throne. Before her death, however, Elizabeth had said she favoured James VI of Scotland. He was a Stuart, a distant relative of the Tudor family, and the nearest heir to the throne. The House of Parliament thought that because he was an outsider (from Scotland) they could easily control him and gain more power at his expense.

They permitted him to become King. He took the name of James I

of England.

But James I had other ideas. He declared he ruled by "divine right" and not by the will of the people or any group. He went so far as to say—

The state of the monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God himself they are called gods. . . . I will not be content . . . to make the reason appear of all my doings. . . . I would wish you to be careful . . . that you do not meddle with the main points of government; that is my craft. . . .

If James I had respected the rights of Englishmen as set down in the Great Charter, there might have been no trouble. As it was, there was trouble in abundance between the King and Parliament. Each struggled for the power to control and rule the nation. James I passed laws without asking Parliament for their approval. He demanded large sums of money to finance his extravagant plans. Both the House of Lords and the House of Commons resented his deeds, and Parliament refused to grant him money. The King then persuaded friends to loan him money with the understanding that he would pay them back. But he never paid his loans. Instead he sold titles to these people as a substitute for payment.

Friction between the king and Parliament increased. Constitutional, financial, and religious disagreements all worked together to increase the friction between England's kings and the Parliament. The Tudor rul-

ers had done as they pleased but had been careful to keep up the appearance of respecting the rights of Parliament. James I frequently gave in to the demands of Parliament but at the same time irritated members by lectures on the divine right of kings. In short, James talked too much.

Meanwhile, England's growing prosperity and security was giving the members of the House of Commons a stronger feeling of independence than they had had in the previous century. The majority of the members of the House of Commons were Puritans and were strict in their moral views as well as being thrifty and prosperous. They disliked the King's extravagance on both economical and moral grounds.

Finally, their desire to change the form of church worship was firmly opposed by the King. The Puritan members of Parliament realized that they could not make these changes in the Church until they had the right to pass laws against the king's wishes.

For all of these reasons the feeling between James I and Parliament became more tense. There was no open break, however, while James I lived.

His son, Charles I, inherited this tense situation, but made it worse by an even more stubborn pursuit of his father's policies. War with France and Spain, very badly managed, forced Charles to ask for more money. When Parliament refused his request, Charles tried in vain to finance the war by illegal means. Parliament therefore drew up the Petition of Right, the second great

charter of English freedom. Charles was forced to accept the Petition of Right because he was in desperate need of money. Some of the many rights granted were:

- 1. No one could be taxed without consent of Parliament.
- 2. No one could be tried in a military court during peace time.
- 3. No one could be put in prison without trial by his peers (equals).
- 4. No one could be compelled to take in soldiers in his home.

Charles I tried ruling by divine right and lost his head. Once peace was declared and Charles needed less money, he ignored the Petition of Right. He ruled for eleven years without calling Parliament into session. Like his father, Charles I sincerely believed that he was answerable only to God for his actions, certainly not to the members of the House of Commons. Then a rebellion broke out in Scotland. Charles needed money again. He summoned Parliament but this time the House of Lords and the House of Commons made a concerted effort to whittle down the king's power.

The result was that the long struggle between king and Parliament reached a climax. The country was stirred. A party of royal officers and many of the country gentlemen stood by the King, but the middle classes, the Puritan gentry, and most of the House of Commons were against Charles I. Civil war broke out. Under the leadership of a man by the name of Oliver Cromwell the people's party defeated the King and his party.



Courtesy of Metropolitan Museum
CHARLES I

Charles was a good man but a bad king. He really believed in the "divine right of kings" and that belief brought him to the scaffold.

Then an unusual thing happened. The King was brought to trial. Charles I, a "divine right" monarch, was taken before a high court of justice. The clerk of the court read aloud, "Charles Stuart, King of England, you have been accused on behalf of the people of England of treason and other crimes; the court has determined that you ought to answer for the same."

Charles I was beheaded. By order of Parliament a king had been executed! To give the credit due to Charles I, we must say that he honestly considered himself to be in the right. Furthermore, he showed himself to be a man of courage when, without losing his self-control, he mounted the scaffold and



OLIVER CROMWELL

Cromwell was an English dictator. During his Protectorate many of the democratic rights of the English were suspended.

died, as he thought, for the sake of his country.

Oliver Cromwell became dictator of England. Charles I was executed in the middle of the 17th century. The next few years were trouble-some ones for England. There was no king, but there was a controlling power in Oliver Cromwell and his army. The House of Commons met and voted to abolish the office of king and the "useless and dangerous" House of Lords. It also declared the people of England to be a "Commonwealth and Free State."

But the English people became dissatisfied with Parliament, for it refused to hold new elections. Apparently the members wanted to keep their seats in Parliament and thus retain their power. Finally Cromwell and his soldiers drove the members of the House of Com-

mons out of the halls of the Parliament building. Cromwell had the doors locked and pocketed the key. The government of England was then the army with Cromwell at the head. He was given the title of "Lord Protector," but we would simply call him a dictator.

There is no doubt that Oliver Cromwell was a strong ruler. He was deeply religious and believed that what he did was a religious duty. He came from the middle class, not from nobility. In all but name he was king. He moved into the palace. Like a king, he signed state papers with his first name only, "Oliver." His rule in the beginning was efficient and strict. He had the interests of the people at heart. Whether the people liked his measures or not, they were forced to do what Cromwell thought best for them.

Englishmen of the 17th century wanted their rights and their king. During Cromwell's dictatorship Parliament never really functioned. In fact, under the Protectorate, Cromwell's first government, Parliament consisted of only one house. For the first time Ireland was represented. But this kind of government was certainly not democratic—it was absolute autocracy, a military dictatorship.

Democracy took a step backward under Cromwell. Of course, in all these political struggles between the kings and various groups opposed to the kings, the people were benefiting in the long run. They could not realize this at the time of the ceaseless struggles and conflicts; nevertheless, the govern-



THE END OF PARLIAMENT

Like any other dictator Cromwell found that he could not get on with an elected Parliament. He thus dismissed it with the words, "Be gone, you rogues. You have sate long enough."

ment was slowly moving toward a more liberal rule. Oliver Cromwell had gone too far for the English people. Englishmen have always known and insisted upon certain rights. They were more interested in those rights than in having a dictator tell them what was best. Also, the English people were used to a king. Their rights they must have, and a king as well. Furthermore, the calmness and courage which Charles I had shown at the moment of his execution had made a strong impression on the people.

When Oliver Cromwell died, his son tried to carry on the strenuous work of his father, but in the end he was forced to resign. The two

Houses of Parliament met and decided to communicate with Holland, where the late King's son was living in exile. With great pomp and ceremony, King Charles II was placed on the throne of England. From that day to this, the British have had a king.

Parliament assumed the right of electing the king. The return of the king did not mean the victory of the royal power over representative government. The King had been asked to the throne by Parliament and had promised to respect its rights and obey its laws. It is true that for the next quarter of a century the kings tried to control Parliament. But when James II, who

was a Catholic, threatened to destroy the Church of England, general rebellion followed. This gave Parliament the opportunity to depose the King. Then Parliament elected a new King and Queen from members of the royal family who it felt could be trusted. By this action Parliament made itself the chief power in the government. Thus was settled, for all time, the bitter quarrel between the English kings and Parliament for the power to rule. The system of representative government had won. Englishmen had kept their king and had been successful in their struggle for the right to govern themselves.

Now, in the latter part of the 17th century, Parliament had assumed so much authority that it could name who should be king. The ruler of Holland, William of Orange, and his wife Mary, granddaughter of Charles I, were asked by Parliament to become King and Queen of England. But before they could become England's rulers they were told of the conditions which they must accept. These conditions were in the form of a written document called the Bill of Rights. In 1689, William and Mary signed the Bill of Rights, and came to the throne of England. This was an outstanding achievement in a more democratic form of government. It is so important a document that a hundred years later it became a part of the Constitution of the United States. Its conditions are also a part of our own Constitution.

The Bill of Rights repeated and made more emphatic the other two

great charters, Magna Carta and the Petition of Right, which you read about in earlier pages. Among the conditions stated in the Bill of Rights were:

- 1. The king should execute only such laws as are authorized by Parliament.
- 2. Neither excessive bail nor fines should be imposed nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
- 3. No taxes should be levied without the consent of Parliament.
- 4. The election of members to Parliament should be free.
- 5. There should be freedom of speech and debate in Parliament without fear of impeachment or questioning in court.

From this list you can see that the representatives of the people in Parliament made sure that the king would have to respect the rights of Englishmen.

The Bill of Rights was a turning point in England's political history. It was brought about by the pressure of Parliament, particularly of the House of Commons. The rise of the middle class in England was in the background of this whole story from about 1500 onward. By 1700 democratic government had really begun for England. Democracy did not come to the English people within a few short years. Democracy as we know it today took over a thousand years to develop.

England became more democratic and developed political parties. There were many political conflicts among many groups in England during her development into a great nation. The king fought against the barons, the rich merchants against both, the businessman for his own

rights, the Church for its privileges. They all wished to so control the government that whatever the government did would be for the benefit of that particular group. The first job of all these groups was to weaken the power of the king to such an extent that he could no longer dictate and enforce his will upon the English people. This very thing had been accomplished in England by the end of the 17th century. But once the power of the king was subject to the will of Parliament, the various factions in Parliament began to wrangle among themselves as to who should dictate the policies of the government. Barons, merchants, churchmen, and country gentry could not agree on any one plan. They therefore split into various groups or parties. Thus we have the rise of the first political parties in England.

The people who felt that the government should have greater power classed themselves as a group called *Tories*. Those who wished for a more liberal and representative government of the people grouped themselves into a party called Whigs. The Tories were made up of country squires, clergymen, and men who had become wealthy because of gifts from the kings. The Whigs were composed of merchants, businessmen, and some barons of great wealth who feared the power of the kings. The Tories believed in a strong rigid central government. The Whigs were much more democratic in their beliefs; they claimed that the great mass of people should have representation, and they feared a strong autocratic

government headed by a king.

These two parties, which began in the 18th century, have kept those general beliefs even to the present day. The only noticeable change is the change of name: the Tories are now called the Conservatives and the Whigs are called the Liberals.

Later, in the story of Canada, you will read of an almost similar conflict in this country between the Family Compact, who believed in a government by a chosen few, and the Reformers who, like the Whigs in England, wanted a much more democratic form of government. To the Compact party the name Tories was sometimes given.

The House of Hanover came to the English throne. After the death in 1714 of Queen Anne who had reigned after William and Mary, there was no immediate heir to the throne. Parliament named George I, a German ruler and a descendant of James I, as the next King of England. He came from a German state called Hanover. He was the first of a long line of kings, still on the throne of England, although today the House of Hanover is called the House of Windsor.

For over 200 years the descendants of George I have ruled England without further civil wars. These kings have been satisfied to take a place of less importance and let Parliament do the actual governing. And since 1714 England has progressed steadily toward a more democratic government.

When George I came from Germany to assume the role of King of England, he spoke only German.

Not being able to understand what his own Parliament was talking about, he selected a group of advisers to instruct him on government affairs. This group of advisers was the king's Cabinet. This idea of a cabinet of special advisers was not new. As early as the 1500's the king of England had a small select group of men around him called a Privy Council. But this Privy Council in time became too large and unwieldy and gave way to a smaller and still more select group of personal advisers called a "Cabinet." At first, the king tried to include in his Cabinet persons from both political parties. But this was not successful, for the members could seldom forget party affiliations enough to cooperate. Thus the Cabinet came to be composed of members from the majority party. Government in England has run much more smoothly since this idea has been in operation. It also means that the majority party in Parliament really runs the English government and they rise or fall on election by the people.

With some differences, of which we shall read later, Canada's parliamentary system follows that of Britain. Indeed, this democratic parliamentary government is one of Britain's greatest gifts to the world. It has been copied in one form or another in almost all the modern civilized nations.

The Prime Minister speaks for the government. Members of the Cabinet are the various heads of departments of the government. There are approximately nineteen positions, such as Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs, Chancellor of the Exchequer, First Lord of the Treasury, Secretary for War, and First Lord of the Admiralty. George I, not able to understand English, did not attend even the meetings of his own Cabinet. As a result, one member of the Cabinet assumed the role of spokesman for the Cabinet and thus for the government. He became known as the Prime Minister. Since he and his fellow Cabinet members were all members of Parliament, they had to attend meetings of either the House of Lords or the House of Commons. This practice goes on to this day. Every so often you will read or hear of the Prime Minister appearing before a session of Parliament, giving the opinions of the government and defending them if necessary. Thus in a sense the Prime Minister, and not the king, as you might expect, is the real head of the English government.

The first Prime Minister—and one of the greatest-was Sir Robert Walpole. A leader of the Whig Party in the House of Commons, he proved to be a great financier, politician, and statesman. He came from a rural section of England, and seemed more interested in farming and hunting than in fierce political conflicts. Even his wealthy and powerful opponents in the House of Commons and House of Lords admired him for his frankness and simple truthfulness in debate. There was no sham about Sir Robert Walpole.

A new kind of revolution brought reform to the government. But with all the advancement of the English

form of government, the great mass of people still had no way of expressing their own will. During Walpole's time it could be truthfully said that government was by the rich, the well-born, and the able. The House of Lords was composed of nobles or peers who had inherited their titles, and of bishops of the Church of England. Elections to the House of Commons were carried on openly, and anyone could check the records to see how his neighbour voted. Moreover, not everyone had the right to vote. In some places the mayor and the corporation only might vote, and election to the House of Commons could be bought. William Pitt once exclaimed in the House of Commons, "This House is not a representative of the people of Great Britain. . . . " To become a member of Parliament required some form of wealth, land, or high position in the Church.

In the first half of the 18th century, people in England lived much as their grandparents had lived before them. There had been little change for centuries in the daily lives of the people or the ways in which they made their living.

Beginning about the middle of the century, an immense change took place in England. Some writers say that it was the most important development in the long story of mankind. The ways of living, working, playing, and thinking were changed almost beyond belief. No longer were the people dependent upon oxen and horses as a means of travel; instead, they could go by train or steamship. No longer did the farmer plant his little strips of grain, peas, and beans; instead, he planted crops in larger fields, and grew in addition such products as clover, turnips, beets, and sweet potatoes. No longer were goods slowly made by hand in the cottages of the workmen; instead, they were produced by machines in great factories. The words "to manufacture," which originally meant "to make by hand," came to mean "to make by machine."

As a result of these new methods of production, people lived more and more in the cities instead of on the estates of the nobles or in small country villages. Their lives were very different from what they had been before factories were established. These and many other such changes have come to be known as the Industrial Revolution. The period of most rapid change was from about 1750 to 1850, but we must remember that the Industrial Revolution is still going on.

Many new inventions brought on the Industrial Revolution. During the latter half of the 18th century in England, the greatest changes were in the methods of making cloth, in the use of iron, and in the use of steam for power.

To begin with, improvements were made in machines for spinning thread and weaving cloth. These new machines were at first run by water wheel or wind mill. Then a Scotsman named James Watt so improved the efficiency of an early steam engine that steam power could be used to turn the wheels of the spinning and weaving machines. This meant that a great many of

these machines could be operated very cheaply, and they began to be grouped together in large factories. With the factories rapidly turning out more and more goods, there was need of a better and more speedy form of transportation. The new steam-power was applied to turn the wheels of carriages and the railroads came into existence. Steam was also used as the motive power for ships. As early as 1819 a steam-driven ship, the Savannah, sailed across the Atlantic Ocean.

The Industrial Revolution had many good results. It made available to the people great quantities of goods cheaply, and by improving communications it brought the peoples of the world into closer relations with one another. As we shall read later in the story of our own country, the union of the British colonies in North America was made possible by the invention of the railroad. But it brought with it, too, bad results, especially in the home and community life of the people. Many workers moved from the country to the cities that sprang up about the factories. Here they found living conditions quite different. They lived in miserable little houses and dark cellars with no conveniences. Sometimes a number of families occupied a single room. Contagious diseases were hard to control and often spread rapidly. Wages were low, and women and children, as well as men, had to work long hours to earn enough money to buy food and clothing. Often tired children were kept awake at their work in the factories by the foreman's cane or strap. From the beginning of the 19th century much of the story of England has been the story of how these conditions were improved.

The Industrial Revolution had been going on in England since 1750. Until that time England had been an agricultural country and the powerful men of England were the great landowners. But when steam power was harnessed to machines, to engines, and to ships, when factories began to turn out great quantities of goods, and ships began to carry these to all corners of the world, the balance of power shifted. By the middle 1800's another group of people was growing in power. These people were the "middle class," owners of banks and manufacturing plants, shipowners and merchants of world trade. They began to feel their power, and tried unsuccessfully at first to get Parliament to pass laws for their benefit. The Industrial Revolution also greatly increased the class of industrial workers who gradually learned to organize and to use their numerical strength for political purposes.

During the 19th century, the struggle for the rights of the common man continued. At intervals, various reform bills were passed. Finally, in 1867, the industrial workers received more representation and the right to vote. These workers had a real leader in John Bright. Living at the same time was William Gladstone, member of Parliament and leader of the Whig Party. The Whigs were opposed to the Tories, led by Disraeli [diz ray' li]. Between these two parties,

fighting for power and influence, the workers benefited. In 1872 the Australian Ballot Act was passed, making all voting secret. This was an important step forward in democracy, for it did away with the evils of bribes and open voting. It has been in operation ever since, and is now generally used in most countries. These democratic steps forward in the interest of the common people, it is interesting to note, came through the efforts of the members of the House of Commons.

The House of Lords lost its hold on the government. The House of Lords, from the early 17th century, took little or no part in passing laws for the benefit of the average Englishman. It was satisfied to keep things as much as possible as they were. It fought many of the changes which the House of Commons tried to force through, and many times it succeeded. But in the early years of this century, the House of Commons was in power and still is. In 1918, the right to vote was given to all men and women over 21, regardless of property qualifications. Democracy in England was at last a reality!

under a limited monarchy, England experienced a "Golden Age." From the middle of the 19th century to World War I, England had economic prosperity under her newfound democracy. This has been called Britain's "Golden Age." Great political reforms had been accomplished down through the centuries since the Battle of Has-

tings in 1066. The people had won a hard fight for their rightful representation under a limited monarchy. During this same period a great empire had been won and the flag of Britain had been carried to the four corners of the world.

From the ordeal of World War I, England emerged on the victors' side, but with an increasing number of economic and political problems at home and abroad. The most important social upheaval at home was the rise of the Labour Party. In 1924 the Labour Party, with J. Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister, formed its first Government. Since then the Labour movement has grown and in 1945 the Labour Government, with Clement R. Attlee as Prime Minister, came into power. Mr. Attlee and his Government took up the task of governing a Britain which had victoriously survived a second World War, but at a terrible cost in men, money and ruined cities.

It is impossible here to do more than sketch the highlights of the story of Britain. For our purpose it is important to know that in their long struggle for democratic government the people of Britain developed ideas about law and order, justice and government. When the British went out to conquer an empire they carried these ideas with them and planted them in the soil of their new possessions. They are among the most precious things that Canadians have inherited from Britain.

Chapter 5 — The British Founded a Great Empire

How England expanded and became the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Many interesting events mark the growth of a nation. We have learned that the earlier part of England's story was a period of turmoil and conflict. The rulers of petty kingdoms fought among themselves, and attacks upon them by foreign foes were numerous. Gradually, however, that part of the British Isles now known as England came to be the home of one people under one ruler. England had become a sturdy nation.

England grew by conquering other nations of the British Isles, the Irish, and the Welsh. This was no easy task. These peoples were independent, fierce fighters, and devoted to their own countries. Scotland and England were officially united when the Act of Union was passed early in the 18th century. These four peoples came to be called the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

But even before all of these countries were united the British people had begun to expand across the seas to search for new lands and to conquer a great empire.

The growth of British sea power. The greatest single factor in the growth of the British Empire was Great Britain's control of the seas. This control was gained only through many bitter encounters in which English ingenuity, seamanship, and daring led to victory. We learned

earlier of Alfred the Great. He found it necessary to build ships and train sailors to protect his country from the attacks of the Danes. His ships were swifter, steadier, better in many ways, than those of the Northmen. About two centuries later, when sailing vessels took the place of oar-driven boats, Great Britain continued to build more and better ships.

For many years the kings of England were content to rule and defend their homeland. However, the startling discovery by Columbus, and the explorations of Cabot and of English seamen during the last decade of the 15th century, showed the English rulers the possibilities of conquest and of a greater overseas trade. They encouraged foreign commerce by granting aid to English merchantmen. New and larger war-ships were built and equipped with cannon, especially during the reign of Henry VIII.

But it is to their great Queen Elizabeth that the British are indebted for the first achievements that really led to the mastery of the seas. The Queen was determined to defend her country against all foreign foes, especially Spain and France. She had a new type of war vessel built to protect exploring and commercial expeditions, as well as to prepare for the defence of England.

The struggle with Spain. In the meantime, Spain's growing hostility



Brown Brothers

QUEEN ELIZABETH CONFERS KNIGHTHOOD UPON DRAKE

In 1580 Drake returned from a voyage round the world. He was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe. In honour of his achievement, Queen Elizabeth boarded his ship, the Golden Hind, and conferred knighthood upon Drake. This picture is a reproduction of a painting by the artist John Gilbert.

toward England broke out into war. Spain thought Columbus's discovery gave her the first claim to the whole of North America as well as to South America and the islands of the Caribbean Sea. She resented the fact that English privateers were interfering with Spanish commerce, particularly in the West Indies. She also objected to the rapid growth of British occupation of the New World. As a climax to the situation, the daring Englishman, Drake (who later made a voyage around the world), "singed the King of Spain's beard" by boldly sailing into the harbour at Cadiz with only four of England's new ships and destroying a Spanish

fleet. The picture above shows Drake being knighted by his queen.

Defeat of the Spanish Armada. The year 1588 will never be forgotten by the English, for in it the Spanish Armada [ahr mah'duh], or fleet, set sail from Spain to attack the English. Storms crippled many of the ships, and when the Armada reached British waters its numbers were greatly reduced. The large Spanish galleons sailed up the English Channel in majestic half-moon formation. But the English had received warning and were prepared. Their war vessels did not wait but went out to meet them. Rough seas and high winds made the heavy Spanish galleons hard to handle,

while the newer and faster English ships were more easily managed. After many desperate encounters, which lasted for nearly two weeks, what remained of the Armada was driven into the North Sea from which it tried to return home by way of the west coast of Ireland. Even then many more of the Spanish ships were destroyed by a fierce gale before they reached their ports in Spain. Spain never again challenged the English on the high seas, and Britain was well on the way toward becoming "mistress of the seas."

British settlements were enlarging the Empire. While England was fighting Spain for naval supremacy, British expeditions were being carried on all over the world. During this period the British were settling such territories as Newfoundland and Nova Scotia; Barbados, Bermuda, and Honduras [hahn doo'ruhs] in the West Indies; and Gambia in West Africa.

The struggle with the Netherlands. About fifty years after the defeat of the Armada, England became engaged in a number of wars with the Netherlands for the control of the North Sea and trade in the East Indies. Many of the conflicts on the waters ended without glory for the English and with disaster to British trade. In the end, however, the Netherlands were exhausted and England was left stronger on the sea than any other maritime country. It was during this conflict that New Amsterdam became New York.

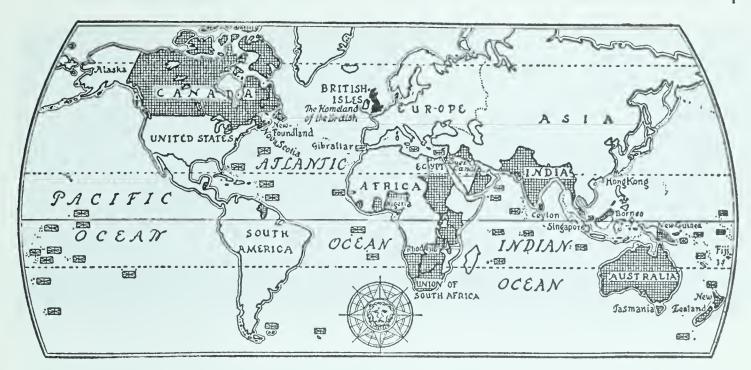
During this period, too, England gained possession of territories in-

cluding the African Gold Coast, the Bahamas and Jamaica, and parts of Canada.

The struggle with France. Scarcely had peace been made with the Netherlands when England began a hundred-year contest with France for control of lands in America and India. Many fierce battles between the English and the French were fought on sea and on land, in many parts of the world. This contest ended in a complete victory for the English off the coast of Spain near Trafalgar [truh fal'ger] in 1805 during the Napoleonic Wars.

Admiral Nelson, who led the English fleet to victory at Trafalgar, became one of the outstanding national heroes. Just before joining in battle with a larger fleet of French and Spanish vessels, he had hoisted that famous signal, "England expects that every man will do his duty." Through his daring and skilful seamanship the English won one of the greatest victories in naval history. Toward the end of the battle Nelson was fatally wounded. Resting in the arms of an old comrade, he murmured, just as the guns ceased firing, "Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty." In recognition of Nelson's victory a square in London has been named Trafalgar and a tall monument erected there in Nelson's honour.

Great Britain gained control of both gates to the Mediterranean. Gibraltar [ji brawl'ter] stands at the western entrance to the Mediterranean Sea. This rocky cape near the southernmost point of Spain was known to the mariners of ancient times. It was the scene of numerous conflicts



THE BRITISH EMPIRE AT THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR II

This map shows why it has been said that the sun never sets on the British Empire. Which hemisphere contains more British territory?

between the Moors and the Spaniards, but finally was held by Spain. In 1704 Gibraltar was captured by the British and the Dutch, at war with Spain; and in 1713 it was granted to Britain by a treaty. Gibraltar then was so strongly fortified by the English that all efforts on the part of Spain to recapture it failed. This control of the western gate to the Mediterranean made possible the movements of British ships which brought about the victories of Trafalgar and the Nile. "As strong as the rock of Gibraltar" has come to be a common expression to describe great strength and endurance.

The eastern gateway to the Mediterranean was the Suez [soo ez'] Canal, built by a French engineer, de Lesseps [duh luh'seps'], between 1859 and 1869. The funds for the canal had been provided by a French company and by the Mohammedan governor of Egypt. England gained control of the canal by diplomacy rather than

by military prowess. The English statesman, Disraeli, very early saw the importance of this canal to England and watched his chance to get possession of it. At a time when the governor of Egypt was in great need of money, Disraeli was able to purchase Egypt's share of ownership in the eastern gate to the Mediterranean, and thus to control the canal.

This was only the beginning of English influence in northeastern Africa, an influence which grew until it had brought about control of Egypt. After the close of World War I, Egypt regained much of her independence, but England continued to hold the Suez Canal. This control of the gateways to the Mediterranean enabled England not only to carry on her commerce and hold her power in eastern Africa, but to play an important part in Asia as well.

Many territories were added to the British Empire. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, the British Em-



Wheeler Newspaper Syndicate

THE ROCK

Since 1713 Britain has held Gibraltar and with it the key to the Mediterranean.

pire was growing rapidly. Much of Canada, Australia, and South Africa was settled, and much of India was brought under British control.

The Far East was also invaded by British merchants and controlled by British power. The Chinese island of Hong Kong was seized and made into a British naval base. It became one of the greatest commercial centres of the Far East. Shanghai, Canton, and other Chinese cities were opened up to foreign trade and partial foreign control, principally owing to British pressure. Singapore [sing'guh pohr'] and the rest of the Straits Settle-

ments were also taken over as a colony, and another great commercial centre was developed there.

During this period the British flag was hoisted over many more islands and territories, all important to British sea power and commerce. Britain had gained an empire which stretched around the world.

Britain's first expansion was into the continent of North America. The colonies which were established on this continent grew in time to be the important new nations, the United States and Canada. The story of these two nations will be told in Part Three and Part Four of this book.

Progress Marks the Story of the British People

The little islands off the west coast of Europe, whose inhabitants speak our language and share ancestors with a good many of us, are the seat of a government that exercises control over almost a fourth of the earth's surface. The English Channel and the seas surrounding the British Isles have made it possible for the British to develop separately from the peoples of Europe, but have not protected them in the past from invasion and occupation—by Celts from western

Europe, Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Danes, and finally, in the 11th century, by Normans led by William the Conqueror. Out of the mingling of custom and blood, the British people as we know them have developed; and the English language, founded on the Anglo-Saxon, enriched by the Norman, with traces of the earlier Celtic and rich borrowings from other tongues, has grown into its present form.

The nation which today we know as Britain has reached its present strength and established its democratic institutions through centuries of struggle between conflicting classes and ideas. The seeking of power by different classes and groups, and the adjustment of power among these groups, is a dramatic chronicle in itself. In following this story, you have read how King Henry II heightened the king's prestige by strengthening the legal system of the nation, and laying the foundations of common law. You have read of the conflict between barons and churchmen in his reign; and of the conflict between barons and the king, which was settled when King John signed the Magna Carta, the first of the great documents that defined the rights of certain groups of people. The rights of the barons were protected by the Magna Carta. The middle classes were to win the recognition of their rights more slowly, through representation in Parliament.

Wars and violence accompanied the conflict of interests and beliefs. The Wars of the Roses were civil warfare between two families who claimed the throne. At the end of this strife, the first of the Tudor rulers came to the throne. The reign of Henry VIII, the second of the Tudors, had its share of conflict—between the crown and the Roman Catholic Church. Henry broke away from the Roman Catholic Church, and declared that the king, not the Pope, was the real head of the Church of England. Queen Elizabeth strengthened the Church of England. Her reign was marked by the defeat of Spain's Armada; a great literary awakening climaxed by the writings of Shakespeare; and a growth of foreign commerce. The reign of the Stuart monarchs who followed the Tudors was the period of struggle between Parliament and the kings who believed in their divine right to rule alone—the period in which Charles I was deposed and beheaded, and the Puritan Cromwell made ruler. Two other great charters of human liberty came out of these stormy yearsthe Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights. Parliament-particularly the House of Commons-emerged as the dominant force in the government of Britain. But the struggle for power and adjustment of power was not over. Although the middle classes were represented in Parliament, the masses, largely because they were not landowners, were not represented. When membership in the House of Commons was finally broadened to represent the masses, democratic government in Britain was firmly established. It was one of the sources of

strength which enabled the nation to endure, and be victorious in, the period of world wars which was to come in the 20th century.

Another great force which had been at work in England was the Industrial Revolution, which, beginning in 1750, transformed life through the invention of machines, and the use of power. Transportation was speeded up; industry moved from the house to the factory. Manufacturers and merchants gained in power. Factory workers—including young children—laboured under conditions that would seem criminal today. Organized protest by the workers, and the occasional sympathy of an exceptionally humane employer finally resulted in change. Parliament passed laws to protect the workers. Labour unions grew in strength, and the Labour Party took its place beside the other political parties in England.

While the nation was developing internally, it was developing externally into an empire. First the English had brought the Welsh and Irish under one rule. Then the Kingdoms of England and Scotland were united. Through later centuries, other peoples all over the world were joined to the Empire. The expansion of Great Britain was largely a result of her need to secure resources and to develop trade and was made possible by the growth of British sea power, from the days of Queen Elizabeth and the defeat of the Spanish Armada through the brilliant victories of Nelson in the

Napoleonic Wars.

SELF-TEST

Look back upon the story of the British peoples by trying this self-test.

The following is a sketch of the story of the British peoples in test form. In it you will find various kinds of statements. Some you will need to be able to recognize as either true or false; some you will need to complete; other statements you will have to arrange in proper time order; and in some you will have to decide which of several things given is correct. Do whatever the test calls for. Keep the record of your answers on a piece of paper. Do not mark the book.

lions of people; then up through the Red Sea and through the ——Canal, controlled by the British; into the Mediterranean Sea and out into the Atlantic again through the Strait of ——, also controlled by the British. Early inhabitants of the British Isles were somewhat isolated from Europe. (T or F?)

- 2. The courageous adventurers whose blood flows in the veins of an Englishman arrived in the British Isles in the following order (arrange correctly): Saxons, Celts, Romans, Normans, and Danes. The traces of Roman civilization still left in England show that the Romans with their efficient army found it a simple matter to subdue the Celtic Britons. (T or F?) The Saxons were good settlers. (T or F?) Christianity was brought back to England by —. This was during the time of the Saxons. (T or F?) Three of the several reasons why Alfred the Great may be called great are: (a) —, (b) —, (c) —. William the Conqueror laid the foundation of the English nation by: (a) adding many new words to the English language; (b) introducing the customs of chivalry; (c) making himself the chief feudal lord and establishing a strong central government.
- 3. Some of the early steps in the protection of human rights, which were taken during the time of Henry II, were (a) ---, (b) —, (c) —. Another important step in the struggle for justice was the Great Charter which was forced by the barons from King - in the year -... It deserves to be called "great" because, among other reasons, it called upon the king to act according to ----, not his own wishes. The main reason why the power of Parliament became great was because Parliament managed to gain control of the ---. During the four-hundred-year struggle between the English monarchs and the Parliament over the right to rule, the ageold idea of the --- to rule was insisted upon by such kings as — and —, who lost his head in the civil revolt led by — —, who became military dictator of England. But the English people preferred a king. (T or F?) By the end of the (14th, 16th, 17th century) the power of Parliament had become supreme, and the English had drawn up a statement of their rights in a document known as the — of —. Two of its provisions were — and —.
- 4. From the time of the coming of St. Augustine in the (4th, 6th, 8th, 10th century) until the time of King —, England, like the rest of medieval Europe, was — in its religious belief. For a time the monarch named defended the faith against the teaching of the German monk, —, who had begun the religious movement known as the —. But the King wanted to take over the church lands and taxes for himself, and he wanted to remarry; so he broke away from the — —. His daughter, Queen strengthened the Church of England, which

was — in belief. The principle of religious freedom can be traced back to these times in the story of England. (T or F?)

5. Study the illustrated map on the following page, and on a

separate sheet of paper answer the following questions.

(a) What evidences do you find that early man once lived in the southern part of England? (b) What point in the British Isles was of great interest to ancient peoples? (c) On what river is London? (d) What natural conditions caused this part of the British Isles to become the heart of the British Empire? (e) Do you see any reason why the English Channel is a "choppy sea"? (f) Note where the Spanish Armada was defeated. Why should the English have decided to give battle to the galleons of Spain at this point? (g) Locate Hadrian's Wall. What people built this wall and why was it built? (h) What different types of vessels do you see in the waters about the British Isles? (i) What does each type of vessel tell you about British history or trade?

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

Projects for the Chart Maker and Artist

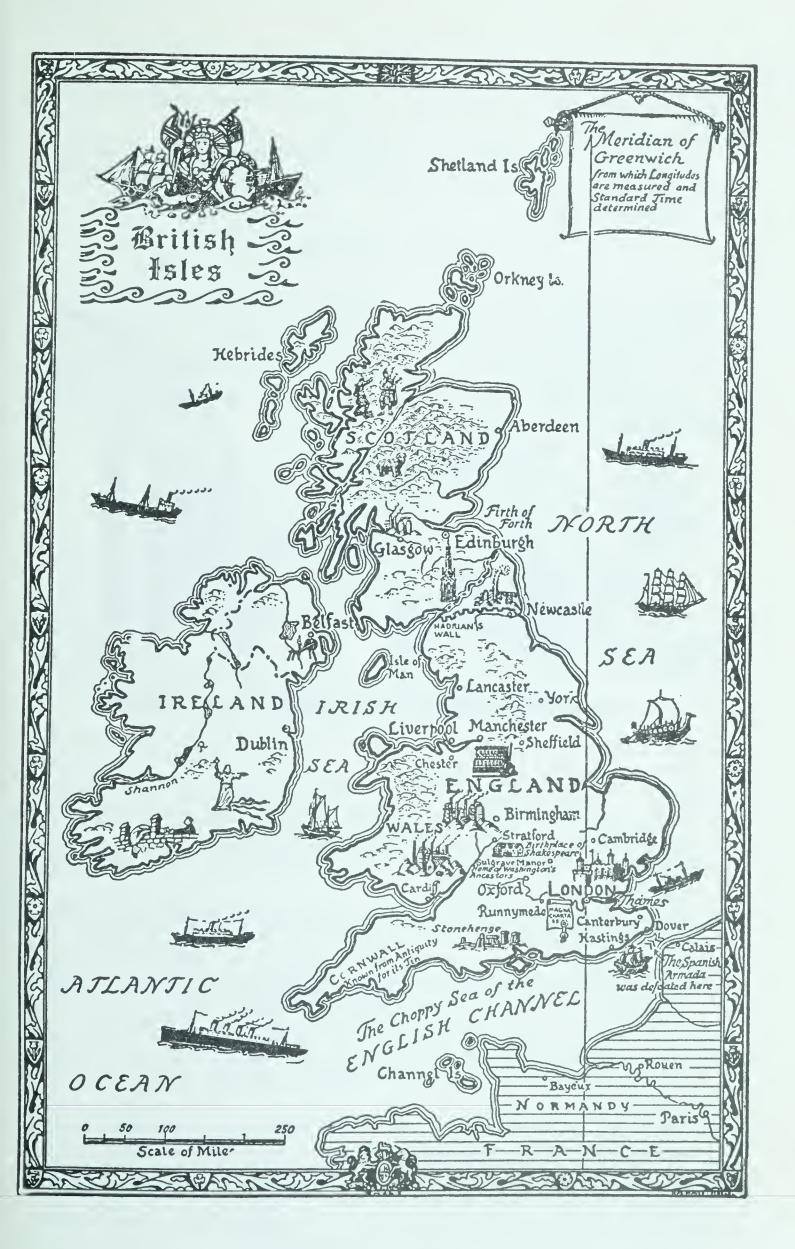
- 1. Make a comparison chart for the British colonial empire. Use headings such as "Location," "Size," "Peoples," "Government," "Products," etc. See encyclopedias, or *British Empire*, by Stephen Leacock.
- 2. Make a trade chart of the British Commonwealth of Nations that shows what the British possessions supply to the mother country and what they receive from her. See *British Empire*, by Stephen Leacock, or look up the individual dominions and colonies in an encyclopedia.

Topics for Talks

"Strong are the ties that bind." Imagine that you are the High Commissioner for Canada, newly arrived in London, and that you are about to make your first speech at a dinner given in your honour. Prepare a short after-dinner talk that will show your understanding of the British people by describing some of the many ideas and customs we have in common with them, and by expressing our appreciation for the debt our civilization owes to theirs.

Adventures for the Amateur Author

1. Imagine that there had been a Press Gallery in the House of Commons at the time that Cromwell drove out the Members of Parliament, and that you were a member of the Press. Write a



vivid account of the incident for your newspaper, in modern style,

complete with headings and lead sentence.

2. Write a vivid description of the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953. Picture the pomp and ceremony of this colourful and thrilling occasion.

Ideas for Your Little Theatre

Form a group of amateur actors to present scenes from Shakespeare's plays. Before the scenes are presented, have a master of ceremonies give a brief biography of Shakespeare, and, before each scene, the story of the play from which it is taken. Perhaps your English teacher will help you select scenes suitable for such a programme.

Candidates for Your Album of Famous People

Cromwell, Winston Churchill, Queen Elizabeth, Henry II, Henry VIII, Shakespeare, General James Wolfe, Sir Robert Walpole.

The candidates listed above are only a few of the famous people who have been important in the political and cultural development of the British Empire. Choose five famous people to represent the British in your Album.

INTERESTING READING ABOUT ENGLAND

Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. "England: Motherland of the World's Greatest Empire"; and Index.

Davis, W. S. Life in Elizabethan Days. Through sport, education, superstition, costumes, and the theatre, the author paints a picture of the customs and social life of Elizabethan England.

GUERBER, H. A. The Story of the English. "Elizabeth was extravagantly fond of dress and display."

Kingsley, Charles. Westward Ho! A story of adventure during the period of the rivalry between England and Spain.

KIPLING, RUDYARD. Puck of Pook's Hill. Puck, the spirit of English history, who can "think for centuries at a time," entertains two young people with his stories of how England was born.

MAJOR, CHARLES. When Knighthood Was in Flower. A romantic tale of the time of Henry VIII.

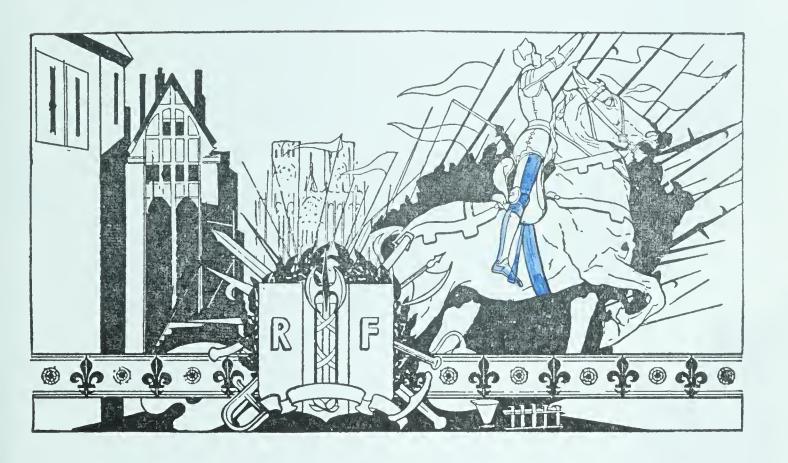
Pyle, Howard. Men of Iron. "A wonderful picture of the days of chivalry."

QUENNELL, M., and QUENNELL, C. H. B. A History of Everyday Things in England. "Wigs, long and much curled, were seen on every man."

TAPPAN, E. M. In the Days of Alfred the Great. ". . . you shall be hanged like a Dane to the nearest tree."

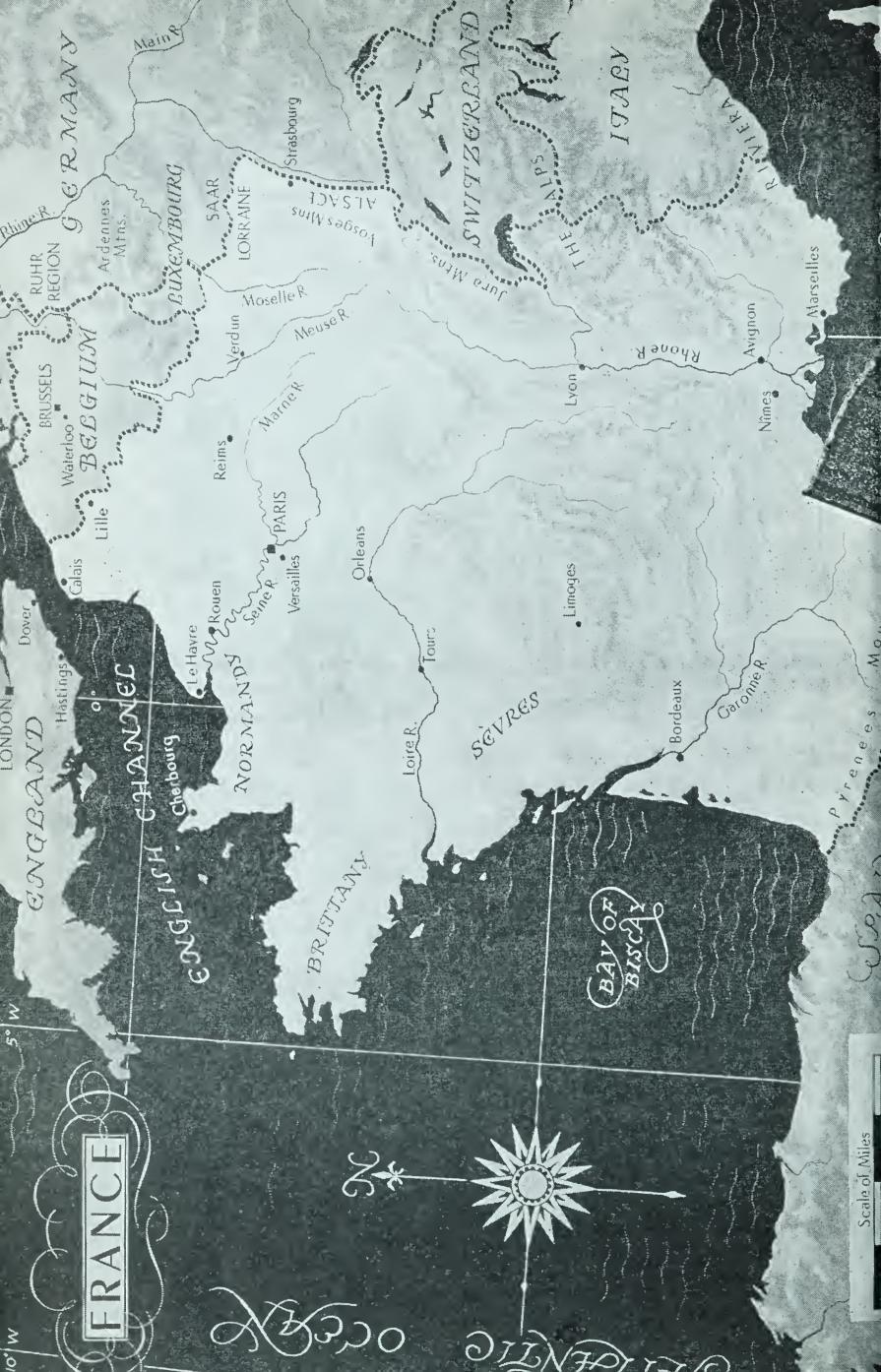
---. In the Days of Queen Elizabeth. ". . . declared she to her council, 'a queen does not lend aid to rebels."

PART TWO



THE FRENCH PEOPLE ESTABLISHED A NATION AND SPREAD THE IDEAS OF LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY

| 1. | the French | 52 |
|----|---|----|
| 2. | The French Formed a Nation and Their Monarchs Became Supreme | 57 |
| 3. | The Spirit of France Broke Forth in Revolution and the People Struggled for Liberty | 68 |





So This Is France!

RANCE is known as the land of liberty, equality, and fraternity. From its location, do you see why we say that France stands at the crossroads of civilization? What neighbouring countries do you think must have played an important part in the story of France? What parts of France are fairly well protected from neighbouring countries by mountains and seas? Where has nature given her the least protection? What did the lack of natural barriers along this one frontier have to do with strategy in World War I and World War II?

Trace the great rivers that form the beautiful valleys of France. These valleys are fertile as well as beautiful. From the map, what means of getting food, besides farming, do you think the French people have? Perhaps you know of some products which the French export. In the story which follows, you will learn that other countries have imported vital ideas as well as manufactured goods and art objects from the French. You will also learn of the French people's dramatic struggle for freedom and the effect that it had on many other lands. France, as we shall see later, played an important part in the discovery, exploration, and settlement of Canada.

Chapter 1 — The Geography of Their Land Has Influenced the Story of the French

Canada and France have many bonds. The bonds between Canada and France have always been close. Long before this country was called Canada, it was known as New France and was governed from France by the French king. The explorers who discovered it and the men and women who first settled in Canada were French. Voyageurs, hunters, and trappers, pressing beyond the boundaries of the first settlements, have left traces of their passage in such place names as Sault Ste. Marie, Portage la Prairie, Souris, Bienfait, Roche Percée and Quesnel.

Today in Canada, descendants of the French settlers form one third of our population. Most of these live in the province of Quebec but there are contingents of French Canadian settlers in Ontario, the Maritimes and the West. Since their language, religion and civil rights were preserved to the French at the time of the conquest of Canada, French is still an official language in Canada and, with English, may be used in the Canadian Parliament. Cultural ties have thus always been strong between Canada and France, and when Canada began to expand her interest in world affairs, France was the first European country in which a Canadian legation was opened.

In our own day, the bonds between France and Canada have been strengthened by the part played by the Canadian Army in the liberation of France. From Dieppe and the Normandy landings Canadian soldiers participated in every major campaign in France.

The geography of France places her at the crossroads of western Europe. France is a remarkably country when one considers her importance as a nation. Its area is less than half that of the Province of Quebec which was once a colony of France. The distance from the southernmost to the northernmost border is only about six hundred miles and from the eastern border to the shores of the Atlantic is a little over five hundred miles. But what France may lack in size has been made up in the importance of her location. She is at the crossroads of western Europe. The traveller is likely to cross France several times as he visits Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Belgium.

The armour of geography leaves France with but one weak spot. France is shaped roughly like a hexagon, as you can see from the map opposite page 51. Five of the six sides are formed by natural boundaries—seas, rivers, and mountains. These boundaries we might consider a geographic protection behind which the people of France have been able to develop a language, customs, and a national spirit entirely their own.

On the northwest, the narrow but



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FRANCE IS A LAND OF MANY RIVERS

Here we see one of the long, low, heavily-laden canal boats which make their way by a network of rivers and canals from the sea ports to the very heart of France. Canadian wheat is often carried in boats like these. It is loaded aboard them from the ocean-going steamers from Montreal in French ports.

rough English Channel has helped to separate the French and the British. Yet since the French and the British were such close neighbours, they also became rivals who fought endless wars, as we shall see, through centuries. It was one of these wars which saw Canada change from French to British hands. To the west are the choppy waters of the Bay of Biscay. On the south, between France and Spain, the mighty Pyrenees form a natural fortress over nine thousand feet high and 250 miles long. Farther east the warm waters of the Mediterranean wash the coast until

Italy is reached. There the famous Alps begin almost at the water's edge and extend northward; the mountain ridges and peaks, for the most part, form the eastern border of France. For about the last hundred miles of the eastern border the historic Rhine River forms a natural boundary.

The northeastern part of France, as you will see by the map on page 50 is naturally protected by the rough, hilly country in the region of the modern city of Verdun [ver' dun']. There the earth layers slope gradually toward the interior of

France, but are sharply upturned against any foreign foe who might come from the northeast. But from this point to the English Channel, France has no geographic armour. The low coastal plains which extend along the Belgian border form a smooth path into the heart of France. Invading enemies have often taken advantage of this fact. However, since natural boundaries long protected France from neighbouring peoples, to so large an extent, it is possible to say that geography has helped the French to develop a distinct and separate nation.

France is a country of many rivers and canals. In France there are over four thousand miles of rivers and over three thousand miles of canals. Together these give France a network of water transportation. The long, heavily-laden canal boats being slowly drawn from lock to lock are a common sight in France.

The map at the beginning of the chapter will give you an idea of the location and length of the four most important rivers. The greatest is the Rhône, up which French and American troops drove into German-held territory in World War II. The Rhône rushes southward down its beautiful valley, passing through busy manufacturing cities and finally emptying into the Mediterranean Sea.

The other three chief rivers have their mouths on the western coast of France. The Loire [lwahr], over 625 miles in length, is the longest of all. It rises in the highlands of south-central France, and empties into the Bay of Biscay The

Garonne [gah'ron'] rises in the high Pyrenees, drains southwestern France, and empties into the large bay of the Gironde off the Bay of Biscay. Bordeaux [bohr'doh'], an important French city, is situated near the mouth of the Garonne.

But of all the great rivers, the Seine, with its tributaries, is bound up most closely with the story of France. In a graceful curve, it flows through the heart of Paris. There, in midstream, is a small island called the Cité [see'tay'], which hundreds of years ago was the original city of Paris. Though Paris is over a hundred miles from the coast and deep-draft ships cannot reach it, the Seine has made the city a river port.

Paris lies at the centre of a basin—the valley of the Seine. This valley of some fifty thousand square miles is the most fertile and best farmed region in France. From the air it gives the impression of a vast park with patches of green woodlands and neatly cultivated fields.

The Marne [mahrn] is the most important tributary of the Seine. Time and again it has served as a feudal moat for France, holding back the first rush of the invaders.

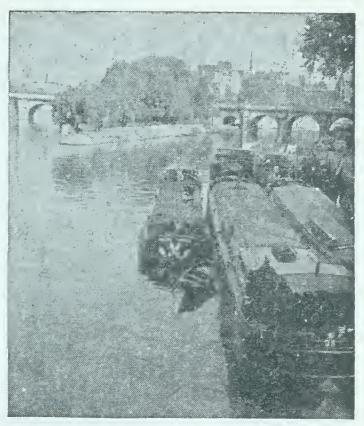
The wide coastal plain and the mild climate favour agriculture. A wide and fertile plain extends along the coast of France from the Pyrenees in the south to the boundary of the Low Countries in the north. This coastal area is a region of many small farms which are carefully worked by hardy French peasants. In recent times French farms have been able to supply the bulk of the nation's

food requirements. Fruit, root crops, and cereals are raised. Conditions are particularly good for the raising of wheat, and France is the leading wheat-producing country of western Europe. But in order to supply enough of the long loaves of coarse white bread which are a common article of food in the daily diet of a French family, some grain must still be imported. In many parts of France the fertile soil and the temperate climate nourish hundreds of vineyards, and France is one of the greatest wine-producing nations of the world.

The raising of livestock is also an important part of French farming. In fact, the average French farmer depends on the sale of animals and animal products for a large part of his cash income. Dairy cattle are raised chiefly along the coastal plain and in the northwest. The sheep-raising industry is centered in the Paris basin and in the hilly area of southeast France. Ewes' milk is used in some sections in the manufacture of cheese, such as the famous Roquefort.

The seas yield resources to the French fishermen. About a hundred thousand of the French people make their living as fishermen. Small fishing boats travel to the coasts of Iceland and Newfoundland in search of the valuable cod. Also, millions of pounds of sardines, herring, and mackerel are caught. Lobsters, oysters, shrimp, and other sea delicacies are supplied to markets, not only in the towns of the coast but far into the interior of the country.

"Made in France" is considered a



French Information Service

Paris and the Seine

Among the most important rivers in France is the Seine on which stands the capital, Paris. The canal boats make Paris an important river port.

guarantee of quality. French industry developed in small units that concentrated on producing quality products. The rest of the world has come to expect that things made in France will be articles of both quality and beauty, for the French standards of workmanship are high. France's reputation is well established for pottery and porcelain, perfumes, textiles, ladies' fashions and cosmetics. French wines find a ready market in many foreign lands.

The textile industry in France has had a long history. In recent times the manufacturers have had to import the greater part of their raw materials, wool from Argentina and Australia, cotton from the United States, silk from China and Japan, and flax from Belgium. But French textiles are of such high



By Burton Holmes from Ewing Galloway

PARIS IS A LOVELY CITY

First built on a small island in the Seine, Paris is a city of many bridges.

quality that exports of lace, silk, carpets, flannels, and cotton materials command a high price in foreign markets.

Delicate and valuable porcelains have been made for more than two hundred years at Sèvres [sehv'r] near Paris. All Canadians are familiar with the beautiful Limoges [lee'mohzh'] china, which comes from a town of that name in France.

Large-scale manufacturing has developed in recent times. France has deposits of coal, of iron and other metals. Iron and steel, and various metal products have long been manufactured by the French, but these industries were greatly expanded after World War I. The war itself, with its heavy demands for

large quantities of materials, was one cause of expansion in industry. The enemy occupation of the greatest manufacturing area, in northern France, made it necessary for the French to establish factories in other regions. World War I was also responsible for the increased development of electric power in France. When coal mines were ruined during the war, the French turned to "white coal," or the electric power which could be developed from the rushing waters of their mountain streams. Much of this electric power is used in industry, but still France has to import some of the coal she requires.

Another factor in increasing the total output of industry was the territory France regained from Germany at the end of World War I. Alsace-Lorraine [al'zas' loh'rayn'], previously held by Germany, contains large iron and potash deposits, as well as textile and chemical industries.

France is an important commercial nation. The great French ports of Cherbourg [sher'boor'], Le Havre [luh-ahv'r], Dunkirk, Bordeaux [bohr'doh'], and Marseille handle a tremendous volume of foreign trade in normal times. Foodstuffs and raw materials are imported, but France is much more nearly self-sufficient than Great Britain. In normal times exports of machinery, metal goods, and chemical products have increased. Agricultural and textile products, however, are still the most valuable items of export. Many of the goods which France exports are high quality, or luxury, goods.

Chapter 2 — The French Formed a Nation and Their Monarchs Became Supreme

The story of France reaches back into the dim past. Who were the first people to live in that part of Europe we now call France? The question is hard to answer. The first permanent inhabitants of this land which is now France were Cro-Magnon men who came into western Europe about 25,000 years ago. They were the "first settlers" and seemed to have been replaced by other peoples in France by the time written records began.

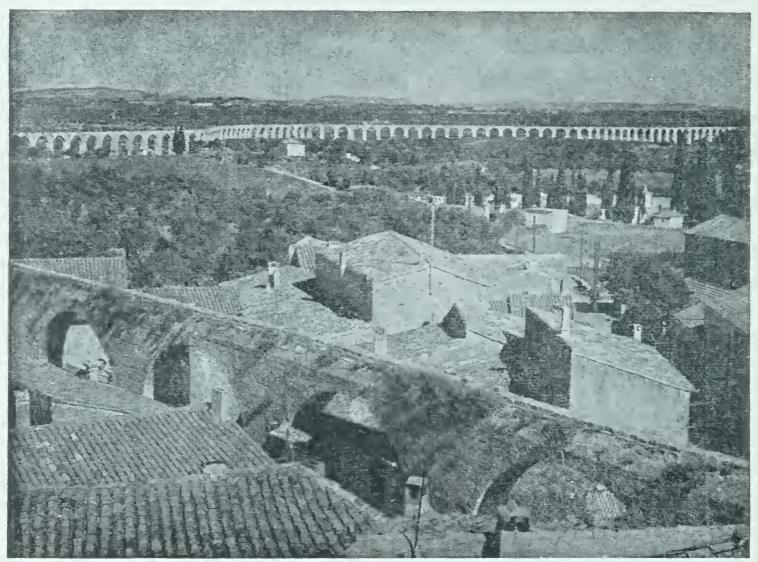
The written story of France began with Gaul. Hundreds of years before the birth of Christ a tribe of people called the Celts lived in this region. They belonged to the same group of people as the Celtic invaders of the British Isles. In the early times about a half century before the birth of Christ, the Romans became interested in this land of the Celts, conquered the people, and began to rule their country, which they called Gaul. For over four hundred years—until the Roman Empire began to crumble in the 5th century—the Romans ruled the Gauls with an iron hand.

The Roman occupation of Gaul made a permanent impression on the country. The Romans built immense buildings, roads, bridges, and aqueducts, many of which were so well constructed that they are still standing. There is an aqueduct near Nîmes [neem] which once carried water to that city of southern France. Traces of Roman laws

are to be found in the French civil code of modern times.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the Romans to the Gauls was language. When Caesar conquered Gaul, he found the natives speaking a crude Celtic tongue. The conquering Romans, of course, spoke Latin. And during the centuries of Roman rule, Latin became the common language of Gaul, so that the Celtic language almost disappeared. Later Gaul was conquered by German invaders who brought their own language which was gradually mixed with the spoken Latin of the conquered peoples. From this combination modern French developed. This mixing of the Celtic tongue with the Latin language of the Romans explains why French is known as a Romance language, as are also Spanish and Italian. Even the beginning student of French who has studied some Latin will recognize many similar words in the two languages, such as father: pater, père; mother: mater, mère; sister: soror, sœur; brother: frater, frère.

When Rome weakened, barbarian tribes came into Gaul. For a long time Rome ruled as mistress of the world, but in the 3rd century the Roman Empire began to weaken. Gradually the German barbarian hordes from the north and east began coming into southern and western Europe to find new lands and homes. These invaders from north-



French Information Service

ROMAN AQUEDUCT AT CASTRIES

The Romans were very fond of that part of France which joined Italy, to which they gave the name of Provincia, and which is now known as Provence. Here they founded colonies and built towns of which remains still stand today, like the aqueduct at Castries, pictured above. What is an aqueduct and how does it get its name?

ern Europe were glad to come into Gaul because they, themselves, were being hard pressed in their homelands by a yellow-skinned race of people from Asia called Huns.

Three different barbarian peoples settled in Gaul. A group known as West Goths, or Visigoths, took up their homes in the south near the Pyrenees; the Burgundians settled in the beautiful valley of the Rhône River; and the most able of all the invaders, the Franks, began to spread westward from the Rhine Valley. The Gauls, whom the Romans had helped to civilize, gradually mixed with the conquering German tribes and occupied

The descendants of these four peoples—the Romanized Gauls, and the Germanic West Goths, Burgundians, and Franks—are the French of modern times.

The Franks won control of Gaul and Gaul became France. It was not long before the Franks had won control of most of Gaul. By keeping in constant touch with their people in the Rhine Valley, the Franks, unlike the other invading barbarians, were continually reinforced. They avoided being cut off and absorbed by the Gallic tribes. Largely for this reason they were able to conquer the other peoples

in Gaul From the name of the Franks, the most successful of the barbarian invaders, Gaul gradually came to be known as France.

An outstanding king of the Franks was Clovis [kloh'vis]. This name, which later was changed in form to Louis, is one which many of the kings of France have borne. Clovis made his headquarters in Paris and from there directed the conquests which made him master of an area that included almost all of what has become modern France. Clothilde [kloh'teeld'], his wife, was a Christian, and through her influence Clovis was baptized. Because their ruler had accepted the new faith, the Franks became Christians.

France became a part of the empire of Charlemagne. When Clovis died early in the 6th century, his kingdom was divided among his sons. The first successors of Clovis continued to conquer new lands until the territory of the Franks extended far into what is now central Germany. But the later descendants of Clovis quarreled and fought with one another. Sometimes the kingdom of the Franks was united under one ruler, and sometimes it was redivided among several heirs to the throne.

Civil wars weakened the Frankish kingdom. The authority of the king also lessened because of the transfer of power to strong nobles. The chief officers of the government were counts who represented the king in the parts into which the country was divided. These great nobles began to ignore the authority of the Frankish king. At the same time the palace officials began to take the real power out of the king's hands, leaving him little more than an empty title. As the king's prestige grew weaker, a number of the counties broke away from Frankish rule and set up their own rulers.

Finally in the middle of the 8th century the king's minister, Pippin, grew so powerful that he was able to sweep away the old line of kings begun by Clovis. But first he asked the permission of the Pope. This point is more important than it seems at first, for the new king thus became in theory a representative of the Church. Thereafter it became a religious duty to obey the king—an early instance of the "divine right" idea which later kings in France and elsewhere were to adopt and to try to impose upon their people.

Pippin, as the new King of the Franks, strengthened his kingdom and passed it on to his famous son Charlemagne who, as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, ruled his domains ably and well. The people who lived in France benefited by the good order Charlemagne brought to the country. France was a part, but only the western part, of his vast empire. The name of Charlemagne brings our story of France down to the early years of the 9th century.

Charlemagne's successors set a bad example for the jealous dukes and counts of their realms, and they began to quarrel with one another for land and power. The task of bringing all the people together into one strong nation seemed com-



French Information Service

THE WALLED CITY OF CARCASSONNE

A reminder of feudal days when powerful nobles warred with each other, the walled city of Carcassonne still stands, its narrow streets huddled about the castle.

pletely hopeless.

The Northmen invaded France. While the strong feudal nobles were fighting one another, and thus weakening and disorganizing the kingdom of the Franks, a new danger appeared. Northmen, moving in their long boats from the Scandinavian peninsula, had already raided and settled areas on the coast of England. In the latter part of the 9th century about twenty thousand Northmen with seven hundred ships landed on the northern shores of France.

By the beginning of the 10th century, these Northmen, or Normans, had become so strong in northern France that the French King decided it would be wise to come to terms with them. So he

gave them a rich section of farming land in northwestern France which even today is called Normandy.

To the Norman chief the King gave his daughter in marriage. The chief, in turn, became a Christian and a vassal of the king of France. It was a later Norman duke who in 1066 crossed the Channel from Normandy to become William the Conqueror of England, and to establish a line of Norman kings on the English throne.

During the invasions of the Northmen one of the French nobles showed himself to be a man of great courage and action. This man was Hugh Capet [kay'pet], Duke of Paris, who controlled the land in the region about Paris. Because Capet had won the confidence of the people and his fellow nobles, the nobles deposed the King descended from Charlemagne, and chose Capet to be King. This new line of kings which began in the 10th century ruled France for hundreds of years.

The king of France was king in name only. When William the Conqueror became King of England, he strengthened the feudal system and saw to it that he himself was the foremost feudal lord. Such was not the case on the Continent. The Duke of Paris, who was also recognized as the King of France, was a strong feudal lord and held much of the fertile lands in the Paris basin. But there were other feudal lords holding various parts of France who considered themselves just as important as the king. Like the king, these lords had strong armies, they had vassals who were

dependent upon them, and they owned vast areas of land. So for two centuries the king of France was king in little more than name.

The king of France became the real head of the nation. Gradually, however, the power of the king of France became greater than that of the other lords. There were several reasons for this change. In the first place, the practice of dividing the kingdom among the king's sons was no longer followed. Also, in the line of kings which Hugh Capet began, it happened that there was always a son to take the place of the king when he died. The first kings of the Capet line took the precaution of having the heir to the throne crowned while the old king was still alive. Thus, on the death of the old king, there could be no dispute over who should succeed to the throne. The people became accustomed to look upon the Duke of Paris as the real king of France. Then, too, the Church seemed to favour the French kings against the feudal lords. The Church knew that a strong Christian king meant protection and power for its beliefs and practices.

For centuries the Holy Land, the birth place of Christ, had been in the possession of Mohammedans who ill-treated Christian pilgrims. About the end of the 11th century military expeditions were organized from Europe to reconquer the Holy Land for Christianity. These expeditions were known as Crusades, and they drew many of the French nobility from their feudal estates to the Holy Land. With powerful rivals out of the country,

the king found his own army more effective. He gradually added the lands which had been ruled by other feudal lords to the royal holdings.

With trade springing up, money coming into circulation, and cities and towns gaining greater freedom, the new middle class, made up of tradesmen, businessmen, and the like, came into being. These people were not much interested in the petty quarrels for power between great feudal lords. They wanted peace and security, and they gradually came to see that these could best be given by a strong national government directed by the king of France.

For a hundred years France struggled against England for her national boundaries. The feudal lords were not the only enemies of a united France. When William of Normandy became King of England he thereby gave the English kings who followed him a reason for claiming as their inheritance the sections of France which he had controlled. Also, by the marriage of English royalty into the families of French feudal lords, the kings of England found themselves in control of other French lands which had belonged to their French wives. At the beginning of the 12th century, the possessions of the English crown in France included practically all the western seacoast plain from the Pyrenees north to the English Channel. The English kings held these lands as vassals of the king of France while ruling England as kings in their own right. In theory the fiefs they held were

part of the French kingdom, but in practice they seemed to belong to England. The English kings, too, found it profitable to unite with the nobles of France against the one who was king of France. Thus the kings of France were faced with the double problem of conquering some of the French nobles and driving the English out of France. Fighting between the French and English kings continued at intervals throughout the 12th and 13th centuries, until in the 14th century what had been a series of feudal quarrels blazed up into a national war.

Many disagreements set the stage for the Hundred Years' War. The quarrel with England was manysided. The French and the English each wanted to gain control of the fishing rights in the English Channel and the North Sea. The two nations were trade rivals as well. Flanders was at that time the greatest manufacturing centre of woolen cloth, and the weaving industry depended on the importation of English wool. When the French interfered in the wool trade, the labourers and manufacturers of Flanders united with the English against the French.

Finally, by the 14th century, the feudal system was breaking up and the kings of England and France were beginning to think of themselves as national monarchs rather than as feudal lords. Thus the old fiction that the English held their French lands as vassals no longer meant anything.

While these disagreements over the fisheries and the wool trade were developing, the last of the Capet kings died without leaving a male heir to the throne. A new King of France was chosen from another branch of the Capet family. The King of England (whose mother had been a French princess) attempted to weaken the power of the French King by putting forward his own slight claim to the throne of France. He hoped in this way to win for himself the support of some of the French nobles.

Rivalry between the French and English for territories and for trade then drove the two nations headlong into war. In history this conflict between the French and the English became known as the Hundred Years' War, because it lasted from about the middle of the 14th century to the middle of the 15th century. Of course there was not continuous fighting during all this time. Sometimes, between periods of actual warfare, there were long periods when the kings of the two countries were occupied in trying to raise money and to recruit armies to continue the struggle.

Dark days for the French. The Hundred Years' War had been going very badly for the French. The King of France had recently died and the Dauphin [daw'f'n], the name the French gave to the uncrowned successor to the throne, just as the English speak of the Prince of Wales—had not yet been crowned. Furthermore the city of Reims, where the French kings had been crowned since the time of Clovis, was held by the English. In fact, the English had conquered

all the northern part of the country and had even occupied Paris. The weak Dauphin fled south for safety. His military leaders were poor and he was not sure whether money and men could be obtained to expel the English.

A peasant girl led the French armies to victory. It was not a brilliant general nor a courageous king who changed the course of events. It was Joan of Arc, a simple peasant girl. Though still in her teens, Joan felt sure that she could aid the cause of France. She believed that she had the power to help the French Dauphin become recognized as King. Her self-confidence did not come alone from her courage and patriotism; it sprang mainly from her religious faith. Joan of Arc, or Jeanne d'Arc [zhahn dark] as the French call her, told of having visions in which she was commanded to help the Dauphin and to deliver France from her enemies. These visions promised her the help of the saints in her great task.

Joan's faith in the visions and "voices" that advised her was very strong. After much difficulty she received permission to speak with the Dauphin. She implored the uncrowned King to allow her to lead a force against the English who at the time were trying to capture the city of Orleans [or'leh'ahn'] just south of Paris. The timid Dauphin finally gave his consent.

Mounted on a horse and wearing the dress of a feudal page, Joan led the French soldiers against the English. The sight of this young



French Information Service

Joan of Arc's House

In this house in Chinon the Maid of Orleans is supposed to have lived during one of her campaigns. It is an excellent example of mediaeval architecture.

French girl courageously leading an army against the invaders kindled the spirit of the French. They fought as soldiers had seldom fought before, and Orleans was saved.

The English were struck with awe. They looked upon Joan as a witch. Cities which had sided with the English threw open their gates to the Maid of Orleans. Finally, on the march northward, the city of Reims was taken, and there, with Joan standing by him, the Dauphin was crowned as the King of France.

With the crowning of the King, Joan felt that her services should be at an end. But since the weak, ease-loving King did little to follow up the victories, Joan continued to resist the English. Within a few months she was taken prisoner.

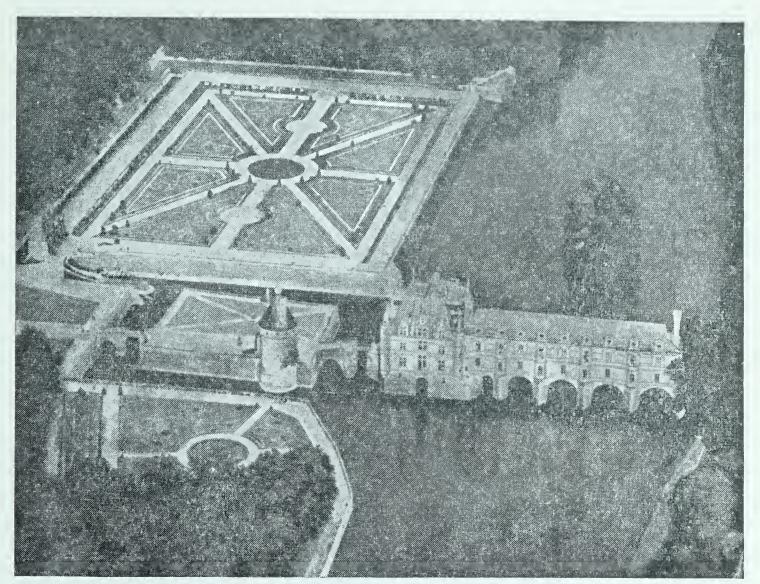
The English were anxious to try her for heresy. The trial was held in the city of Rouen [rwahn] on the river Seine. Joan was condemned to death. In the Old Market Square of Rouen she was chained to a stake. Fuel was piled high about her and the torch applied. According to legend, one of the English soldiers present who had come to rejoice at the death of this enemy was heard to cry out, "We are lost—we have burned a saint!"

Indeed, the English cause in France was lost. During the next few years the French made slow but steady progress in defeating the English invaders, until finally only Calais [ka'lay'] was left in English hands. The faith of Joan of Arc had aroused the patriotism of her countrymen, and had stimulated the growth of a national feeling. Today in France the spirit of Joan of Arc still lives. In the present century, she has been officially declared a saint by the Church of her faith.

The power of the French monarch became supreme. At the close of the Hundred Years' War, the king was the leading feudal lord and also the master of all France. In the two centuries that followed the Hundred Years' War the king's power increased until he became a supreme and absolute monarch.

A number of changing conditions favoured this growth of the royal power. In the first place, the kings gradually broke up the remaining powerful dukedoms or absorbed them. Also, the kings had acquired the right to tax people throughout the kingdom and so could maintain a national army, without depending on the vassal service of the nobles. As long as the nobles continued to enjoy their social privileges, however, they made no strong opposition to the increased strength of the king. Occasional rebellions were put down by force or turned aside by bribery. The Estates-General, or legislative parliament, was practically suspended.

During these centuries following the Hundred Years' War, new and unpopular taxes were levied against the people. But these common people, called the Third Estate, were not united or organized and so their resentment had little effect. If the nobility and the Third Estate had joined forces, their combined opposition would have been a serious threat to the growth of the king's power. No such alliance came about, however, for so long as the nobles retained their feudal powers, the middle class felt it necessary to support the king who was the only power that could keep peace and order. Later, when the nobles became mere courtiers, they in turn supported the king and depended on him to preserve their social privileges against the demands of the rising middle class. Like some of the monarchs of England, the French kings claimed to rule by "divine right." They con-



Compagnie derienne Française

A CHATEAU OF THE RENAISSANCE

As France became more settled under stronger kings, the nobles began to abandon their feudal castles and to build lovely chateaux like that of Chenonceaux, pictured above. Built on the abutments of an old mill, it crosses the Cher River, a tributary of the Loire. Compare this illustration with the grim walled city of Carcassonne on page 60.

sidered that they themselves were the state. They believed that there was no national will except as expressed in their own wishes.

Louis XIV became the grand monarch of France. About the middle of the 17th century, a five-year-old lad inherited the French throne. He was destined to become one of the most interesting kings that ever ruled any nation. His reign of seventy-two years is the longest of any monarch in European history. His rule and personality had a marked effect on his times in France and other nations. It was Louis XIV, as we shall see, who

took the first real steps to make Canada a strong colony.

Louis XIV was an absolute, or all-powerful, ruler who, like the English King, James I, believed in his divine right to rule. The nobles, who had been largely occupied with defeating the will of the king, were now content to live at the palace in his favour. If Hugh Capet, the feudal king of France who lived some seven hundred years before this time, could have seen the pomp of Louis XIV he would have been amazed. He would have seen the nobles handing the King his clothes when he arose in the morning and



French Information Service

MAGNIFICENT VERSAILLES

The age of Louis XIV was a time of greatness for France. France dominated the continent of Europe by arms, in art, in literature, and in culture. The outward symbol of France's greatness was the magnificent chateau of Versailles, one of whose rooms is pictured above.

standing respectfully by when the monarch was at his meals. He would have seen these nobles forming an appreciative audience for the many great artists and writers whom Louis XIV brought to this court.

True, the French king had become powerful, and had brought about the unity of the nation. But the extravagance and selfishness of divine right monarchs were bound finally to lead to dissatisfaction and rebellion in France as they had in England.

Louis XIV made the French language and French fashions popular in European courts. Louis XIV and his court French manners and dress were imitated in the courts of other nations. The French language became the fashionable tongue of polite society and the official language of many royal courts of Europe. Following the example of Louis XIV, the rulers of other nations began to patronize and encourage writers and artists. A few rulers even tried to duplicate the splendour of the French court.

The dress and the customs of the upper classes were dictated by this King. His wars upset the peace of Europe. The interest which he showed in art, architecture, and



FRANCE IS A LOVELY LAND

The German poet, Goethe, once said that every man had two countries, his own and France. Typical of the magnificent scenes which have endeared France to the people of all nations is Mont St. Michel, pictured above, which is in Normandy just across the bay from St. Malo in Brittany.

the other fine arts has caused the French to refer to his time as the Grand Century. Louis XIV himself came to be known as the Grand Monarch, the Sun-King.

The palace of Versailles reflected the grandeur of the court of Louis XIV. Louis XIV did not like the narrow streets and unruly mobs of Paris. He decided to have a magnificent royal residence built about twelve miles southwest of Paris on a sandy and marshy plateau where his father had often hunted. The Palace of Versailles [ver'sah'ee] and the park surrounding it show us to what length this French king

went to surround his court with elegance and splendour. The photograph on the opposite page shows one corner of one of the magnificent salons.

The foremost architects and artists were commanded to build and decorate the palace and the grounds of Versailles. In the hundreds of rooms ten thousand people could live comfortably. The stables could house twenty-five hundred horses. A beautiful green lawn swept down from the palace to a grand canal. Shrubs, trees, and flower beds were laid out in extensive geometric patterns, and hun-

dreds of fountains and beautiful pieces of marble statuary deco-

rated the gardens.

Though Versailles was a dreamland for Louis XIV and the men and women of his court, it meant a nightmare of suffering and taxation for the common people. Thousands of peasants and soldiers were forced to work without pay. Quite a few were killed in the process of constructing the buildings. The extravagant monarch is said to have destroyed the records showing how much had been spent, but it is probable that the royal residence cost the people of France about a hundred million dollars.

There are few spots in Europe more steeped in historic interest than Versailles. In the Hall of Mirrors, oddly enough, more than two centuries later the modern German Empire began. In that same immense hall with its polished

floor and rows of mirrors, the peace treaty of World War I was signed.

Though the extravagance of the royalty at home was a serious menace, the brilliance and the military power of the French in the 17th century were well known. France was respected as a world power. She was a feared rival of the English. Her aid, in the form of money and arms, to the new American republic was a decisive factor in the Revolutionary War. Her traders and missionaries had made their influence felt in the New World.

The costly grandeur of Versailles was, however, only a veneer of elegance covering the hardship and poverty endured by the majority of the people. The oppression they suffered and the rebellious feelings it aroused led to a bloody revolution that changed the entire course of the story of France and affected other countries as well.

Chapter 3 — The Spirit of France Broke Forth in Revolution and the People Struggled for Liberty

The lot of the French people was hard. Abraham Lincoln, who was famous for his common-sense wisdom, is reported to have said, "You may fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time." An idea such as this never seemed to have occurred to Louis XIV or to the two spendthrift monarchs who came after him. In France, in the middle of the 18th century, neither the king and nobles, nor the higher churchmen bothered much about the rights of

the common people. They thoughtlessly enjoyed their pleasures and privileges while the common people bore the burden.

French peasants lived in much the same way as the poor peasants in other parts of the feudal world. They still paid many of the dues of feudal times to the nobles who owned their lands. Furthermore, many payments had to be made to the Church and to the tax collectors of the king. The peasants could not even kill the rabbits or birds which might be eating their crops, for these only the lords could

hunt. If a party of nobles should destroy a peasant's crops while fox-hunting in his fields, all the humble peasant could do would be to doff his cap and hold his tongue.

The common people of the towns, businessmen, tradesmen, and craftsmen, also had cause to complain bitterly. If they wished to sell their goods at a fair or market, they often found that a tax for the privilege had to be paid to some noble. If they wished to send their goods to other parts of France, they had to face toll charges at many bridges. The king's tax collector watched every growth in business with a sharp eye and asked for more money on every pretext. The Church, too, expected and received its share. Despite all this, however, the upper middle class was becoming wealthy and well educated, and as a result was becoming more aware of its grievances.

Louis XIV gave France glory—at a price. Louis XIV had been extravagant in his life at Versailles, yet he had some claim to consideration. He had provided France with a strong and effective central government.

In his wars with foreign nations Louis XIV had been successful also. Such successes, of course, pleased the French people and strengthened the position of France as a nation.

In the 17th century such hardy French explorers as Champlain, Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle had given France claim to much of the New World. The French were early explorers of the great Mississippi Valley. They had claimed the whole of that region for France and had named it Louisiana in honour of their King, Louis XIV.

Conditions grew worse under later kings. The two monarchs who followed Louis XIV were chiefly interested in their own selfish pleasures and glory. The court at Versailles became increasingly corrupt. It was possible for almost anyone to purchase favours and titles. The political enemies of the king were condemned without a chance for a fair trial and thrown into the dungeons of that famous prison-fort in Paris, the Bastille [bas'teel']. There they were often forgotten and left to die. The bitterness of the common people continued to increase.

The next King, Louis XV, paid little attention to the French colonies which had been established in America. When war came with England, it was therefore not long before that country was able to win the French holdings in what is now Canada. But Canada was not the only loss in the time of Louis XV. Like several other European nations, France had made some successful settlements in India, which was a source of raw materials and a promising market for European merchants. Here again the English and the French clashed. Since Louis XV was not interested, the French soon lost their foothold in India as they had in Canada.

When the American Colonies revolted against England in 1776, Louis XVI, who had recently become King, had an opportunity to strike back against the English. He listened willingly to arguments that France should aid the colonies. The

American Revolution cost France two and a half million dollars.

The extravagance of the King and the court at Versailles continued to increase. The burden was more than the French people could bear. The nation was on the verge of bankruptcy. Louis XVI ordered his officials to raise more and more money. When they could not raise enough money to please him, he dismissed them and appointed others.

Able French thinkers championed the cause of justice. The nobles in France were quite satisfied with their special privileges such as exemption from taxation, and did not want to see conditions changed. But during the 18th century there were a number of keen, critical Frenchmen who did voice the cause of the common man. The writings of these French reformers, aimed at the injustices of the times, did much to stir the people to action.

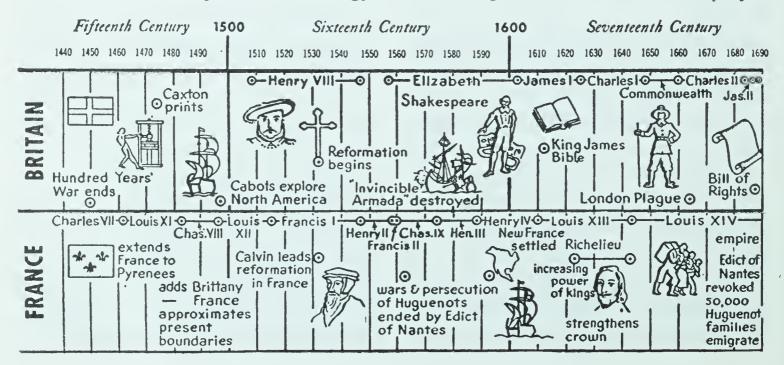
Voltaire ridiculed the established order of things. One of these men was Voltaire [vohl'tayr']. With keen mind and quick wit he heaped ridicule upon the narrow-mindedness of the nobility and the clergy.

Voltaire was twice made a political prisoner in the Bastille, yet he was so clever that even royalty entertained him. Voltaire took part with other reformers of the 18th century in writing a series of books called the "Encyclopedia." In this work the reformers attacked the old beliefs concerning Church and State and explained new scientific ideas. Naturally the upper classes looked upon Voltaire as a radical.

Here are a few lines from one of Voltaire's letters. They will give you an idea of how he used words to scorn the conditions of his times.

a reflection on human nature that money accomplishes everything and merit nothing: that the real workers behind the scenes have hardly a modest subsistence, while certain selected personages flaunt on the stage: that fools are exalted to the skies, and genius is in the gutter. . . .

It is sad to see . . . those who toil, in poverty, and those who produce nothing, in luxury: great proprietors who claim the very birds that fly and the fish that swim: trembling vassals who do not dare to free their houses from the wild boar that devours them: fanatics who want to burn everyone who does not pray to God after their own fashion: violence in high places which engenders violence in the people:



might making right not only amongst nations but amongst individuals.

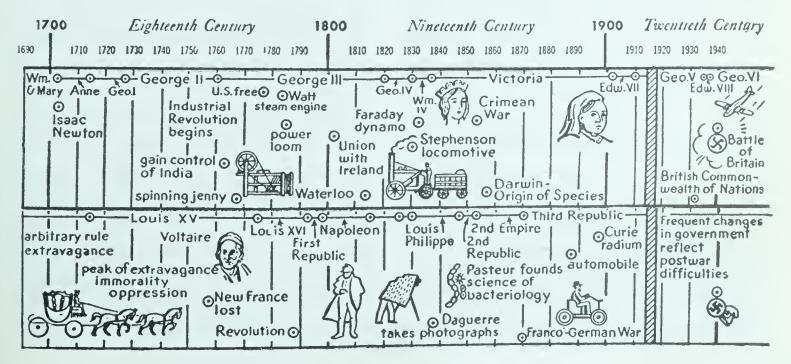
Rousseau claimed that government is based upon the consent of the governed. Another reformer whose writings stirred the French people was Jean Jacques Rousseau [roo'soh']. In "The Social Contract," Rousseau attacked the right of kings to rule without the consent of the people they governed. "Man," he said, "is born free and yet is now everywhere in chains. One man believes himself the master of others and yet is after all more of a slave than they." He then went on to say that men were born to be good and happy and that by the selfishness of kings and politicians they were made wicked and miserable. The people, he claimed, had a right to decide for themselves how they were to be governed.

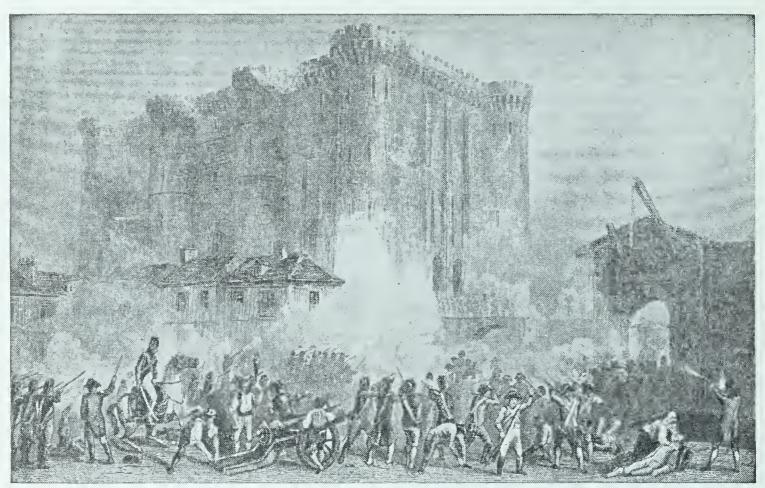
The stage was set for revolution. The King, Louis XVI, needed still more money. His officials were no longer able to wring it from his overburdened subjects since they could not tax the nobles or the clergy. So the King was forced to call a meeting of the Estates-General, the legislative parliament,

which had not met for years. This assembly was made up of members of the upper classes—the nobility and the clergy—and members from the Third Estate, or middle class.

When the Estates-General met at Versailles, the Third Estate, who had as many numbers as the other two put together, wanted to have the three Estates meet as one body and vote as individuals. When the King ordered them to meet in separate Estates, each Estate casting a single vote, the members of the Third Estate refused, knowing that the first two Estates would outvote them.

The Estates-General declared that the King must not levy any more taxes without its consent. This made Louis XVI so angry that he ordered his soldiers to prevent a further meeting in the palace. The members of the Third Estate were determined and held their next session where they would not be disturbed. They met in an indoor tennis court in Versailles. There they took the name National Assembly and agreed by oath not to adjourn until they had given





Brown Brother.

THE CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE

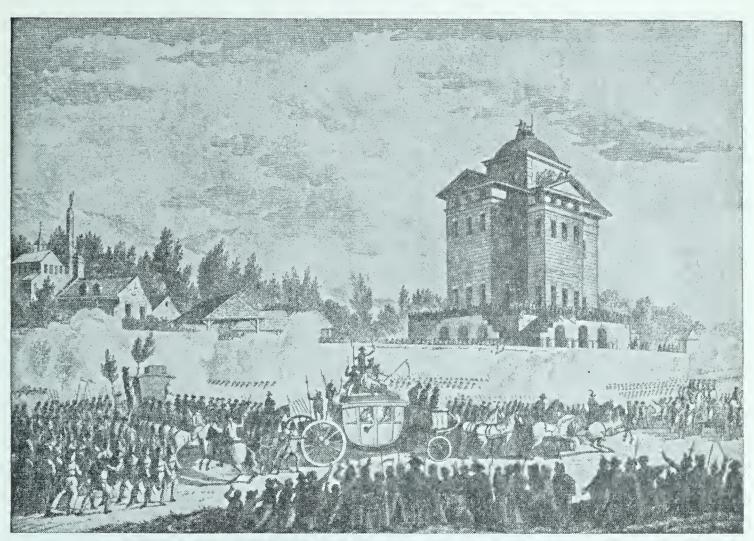
As Versailles was the symbol of the grandeur of France, the Bastille was the symbol of the misery and oppression which accompanied it. When on 14 July, 1789, the Paris mob stormed the Bastille and released the prisoners, the real revolution was under way.

France a constitution. Louis finally agreed and ordered the three Estates to meet together as a National Assembly. The days of divine right monarchy in France were almost over; the power of Louis XVI was crumbling.

July 14 became the French Independence Day. The people of France were wrought up. They were disgusted with the King and knew that their only hope for equal rights lay in overthrowing the old order of things. Throughout the country, feudal castles were attacked and burned. In the towns, angry mobs took matters into their own hands. In Paris, the half-starved workmen and shopkeepers armed themselves. On July 14, 1789, the mobs stormed and took the Bastille, that grim fortress which to them seemed a

symbol of the oppression they had suffered for so many years. Ever since that day, July 14 has been the French national holiday. The motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" became the watchword of the Revolution, and in the years following it became the custom in France to inscribe these words on public buildings. ("A Tale of Two Cities," by Charles Dickens, the English novelist, gives us a vivid, though fictional, description of these days.)

The monarchy was overthrown. After two years of work the National Assembly finally gave France a constitution calling for an elected Legislative Assembly, with the king acting as chief executive. Had Louis XVI and his queen, Marie Antoinette, been wise they might have continued to rule under this



THE RETURN FROM VARENNES

Louis XVI was a well-meaning king, but he did many foolish things. Among the most foolish was his attempt to escape from France and join the armies that were preparing to attack France. When he was stopped at Varennes and brought back to Paris he was starting on the road that led to the guillotine.

constitution. Instead, Louis intrigued with the nobles who had left the country and was proved to be in secret alliance with other kings who wanted to suppress the Revolution for fear it would spread to their lands. The Legislative Assembly, as the new legislature was called, then proclaimed that the King was no longer to rule. They ordered a National Convention to be elected for the purpose of setting up a new government and a new constitution.

When the National Convention met, its first act was to agree to abolish the monarchy. Although the members of the Convention had many differences of opinion, they were all republicans, that is, against the monarchy. Louis XVI was summoned for trial, and condemned to death on the guillotine. Marie Antoinette was executed a few months later.

The execution of the King greatly increased the indignation of the other kings of Europe, who were fearful lest the revolutionary movement spread and endanger their thrones as well. Foreign armies from many lands began to march against France. This stirred the French to a new patriotism, and republican armies were quickly raised for the defence of the nation. At this time a young French army captain Rouget de l'Isle [roo'jhay' duh leel'], composed a stirring marching song which was caught



French Information Service

Fashion for Conquerors

Among relics of Rome in France is this Arch of Triumph at Orange. It was monuments like these which inspired Napoleon to build the Arch pictured opposite.

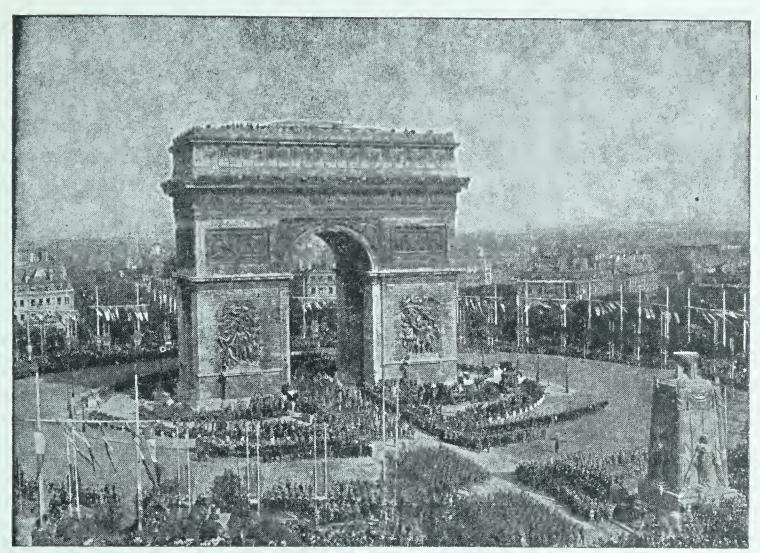
up and made popular by the lusty voices of the young republican volunteers as they made their way to Paris. This song, the "Marseillaise" [mahr'say'yaiz'], has become the national song of France.

Under the stress of a defensive war the leaders of the Convention voted themselves dictatorial powers to organize resistance. At the same time, to prevent counter-revolution they opened a Reign of Terror against all suspected of sympathizing with the old system. The new government was ruthless but efficient, and it managed to hold off the invading armies.

The people grew sick of bloodshed. Revolts throughout France were at last ruthlessly crushed. The horrible Reign of Terror that had taken so many lives had almost burned itself out. France was to be a republic, and the National Convention had nearly completed drawing up the new constitution that provided for a new legislature, and also an executive body of five men called the Directory. But those in favour of restoring the monarchy organized a rebellion and marched against the Convention.

Napoleon helped establish the authority of the government. The task of holding off the mob and protecting the Convention was entrusted to a young officer named Napoleon Bonaparte. When the rioting mob appeared, Napoleon dispersed them with a volley of grapeshot from his cannon. Many were killed, and the others fled. This harsh treatment of the Paris mobs taught them a lesson: violence and rioting were no longer to be tolerated. The authority of the government had made itself felt.

Napoleon rose to power under the Directory. The new government under the Directory turned its attention to the foreign armies attempting to invade France. The republican armies had won a number of victories against the invaders while the Revolution within France was still in progress but there was still trouble. Great Britain and Austria were the chief remaining enemies of the Republic this time. The Directory planned a widespread campaign against the Austrians. As a reward for his action in defending the Convention, Napoleon was made a general and given command of a small



L'ARC DE TRIOMPHE

France had its second period of military glory under Napoleon when its armies ranged from one end of Europe to the other. To commemorate these victories Napoleon started the tremendous Arch of Triumph pictured above. It stands on a hill overlooking the wide Avenue of the Champs Elysées.

army to carry out a minor part of the Austrian campaign by attacking the Austrians in Italy.

General Bonaparte directed his

small force with such military skill that he was completely victorious. His brilliant campaign in Italy forced the Austrians to make peace with France, and also established French influence in much of northern Italy. Napoleon's first success was followed by a defeat in a campaign against the English in Egypt. But in spite of this setback, when he returned to Paris, Napoleon was greeted with enthusiasm by the people as a national hero.

The new government of France, under the Directory, had proved

corrupt and inefficient, and had not been faring well. So in the last year of the 18th century, Napoleon overthrew the Directory and made himself First Consul of the French Republic. Already popular with the French people, he suppressed with a strong hand small rebellions within France. Then he turned to the French frontiers and cleared them of foreign enemies.

Napoleon made himself Emperor. In less than five years after he had become First Consul of the Republic, at the age of thirty-five, Napoleon Bonaparte stood in the famous cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. There he had come to be crowned Emperor. Seizing the

crown from the hands of the Pope, he placed it upon his own head and became "Napoleon I, Emperor of the French." "Liberty" went into an eclipse. France was to feel again the hand of an organizer such as she had not known since the days when France was Gaul and the organizing hand was that of Julius Caesar, the conqueror.

Napoleon, the master of men. Napoleon Bonaparte was not a native Frenchman. He was born on the island of Corsica [kohr'si kuh] which lies just off the southern coast of France in the Mediterranean. In a crowd there would have been reasons for overlooking Napoleon. He was short, only five feet and one inch in height, and of sallow complexion. But Napoleon had matchless ability to inspire others with faith in himself. He believed so thoroughly in his own superiority that he made others believe in it also, as other dictators have done in more recent times. Once he said of himself, "I am the child of destiny. . . ." and again, "... I began to make mistakes only when I listened to advisers."

Once Napoleon had decided upon a course of action he let nothing stand in his way. Those who had helped him he rewarded with high positions and other honours. To his enemies and those who were of no use to him he was heartless. In order to strengthen his own position, he placed members of his family and favourite military leaders at the heads of the states which he had conquered.

Napoleon, the soldier. Napoleon is most famous as a great military

commander. His name was feared by all the monarchs of Europe. The rulers of other nations were eager to punish the French for revolting and for beheading their King, Louis XVI. At various times Napoleon's Grand Army had to face the combined forces of many enemy nations. But Napoleon was usually the victor. He freed France from invaders, and then he set out to conquer all those who had opposed him: Spain, the Italian States, Switzerland, Austria and the Germanic States, Russia, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. His ideal was to bring all of Europe under one emperor-himself-with his friends set up as kings in the various states of the empire. Napoleon's success was with land forces. England, his greatest enemy, he could not attack successfully because of her control of the seas. In the end, his widespread conquests were Napoleon's undoing, for he had conquered more than he could hold.

Napoleon, the statesman. Napoleon was interested in improving the land he ruled. Like the Roman emperors, he constructed roads and other public works. Buildings and triumphal arches were erected to commemorate the victories of his armies. The most famous of the arches is the Arc de Triomphe [ahrk' duh tree'ohnf'] which towers 165 feet above one of the prominent squares of Paris. Today it shelters the grave of the Unknown Soldier of France of World War I.

Napoleon also set legal minds at work collecting and rearranging the

laws as well as improving outworn statutes. A group of laws known as the Code of Napoleon resulted. This code became the model for legal systems in other countries of Europe and is the basis of modern French law. Young lawyers from Quebec often go to France, there to study the Code Napoléon, since the civil law in use in Quebec is based on French civil law at the time of the conquest of Canada.

Napoleon was responsible for many other things that show he was a statesman as well as a soldier. During the Revolution the Church had been frequently scoffed at. Napoleon reached an agreement with the Pope which helped the Church again to carry on its work. He also reorganized the school system of France. It is interesting to note that Napoleon required that loyalty to the Emperor be taught to children in the schools.

Napoleon seemed to realize that the spirit of the French would thrive on glory and honour. He founded the famous Legion of Honour to which are still elected men and women who have done something outstanding in war or in peace. Many Frenchmen wear the little red ribbon of a member of the Legion of Honour, showing that they have achieved something unusual of which France is proud.

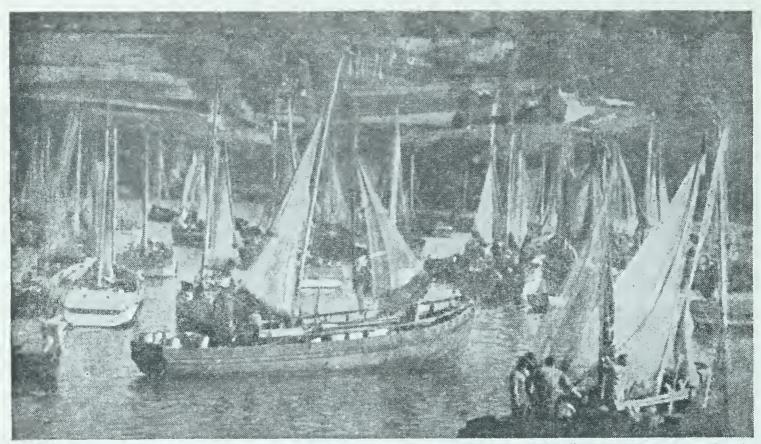
Napoleon met his Waterloo. The tide in Napoleon's affairs turned against him at last. As another ambitious dictator was to do almost a century and a half later, Napoleon invaded Russia. Although his armies managed to reach Moscow, the Russian winter, the length of

the supply line, and the resistance of the Russians forced Napoleon to retreat from Moscow in one of history's most disastrous routs.

The next year, combined armies of the nations allied against Napoleon defeated him in Europe. He was sent to the island of Elba, off the coast of Italy, as a prisoner, and a king was again placed on the throne of France. But Napoleon escaped to Marseille, in southern France. He made a triumphal march to Paris. When the soldiers who had been sent by the King to stop Napoleon again saw their "Little Corporal," as Napoleon's men affectionately called him, tears came to their eyes. They begged to be forgiven, and shouted, "Vive L'Empereur!" ("Long live the Emperor!") Under the spell of Napoleon's personality they were ready to fight again under the tricolour—the banner of the Revolution and Napoleon.

Napoleon quickly raised an army and met the allied forces of England, Holland, and the German states at Waterloo. There after a hard-fought and bloody battle he was at length defeated. His power was forever crushed and the old line of kings was again placed on the throne of France. Napoleon threw himself on the mercy of his most bitter enemies, the English, and was exiled to the faraway island of St. Helena [hehlee'nuh] in the South Atlantic, where he died six years later.

Napoleon I became a glowing legend. To many of the French, the name of Napoleon has become more glorious with the passing years.



French Information Service

A BRETON FISHING FLEET

Probably French fishermen from Brittany were the first to establish settlement in Canada. The pattern of living shown here, the fishing fleet, the nets drying on shore, and the small farms clustered about the harbours, was the pattern that was later reproduced by fishermen in Newfoundland.

His deeds, like those of Joan of Arc, have become a patriotic legend. Forgotten are the thousands of men whose lives he unhesitatingly sacrificed in his wars for more power; forgotten are his selfish ambitions. To many the name of Napoleon has come to stand for the ideals of the Revolution, for law and order at home, and for power and respect among foreign nations.

There is, however, another side to the story. In his "Outline of History" the modern English writer, H. G. Wells, gives us his opinion of Napoleon:

The figure he makes in history is one of almost incredible self-conceit, of vanity, greed, and cunning, of callous contempt and disregard of all who trusted him, and of a grandiose aping of Caesar, Alexander, and Charlemagne which would be purely comic if it were not caked over with human blood.

The Congress of Vienna sowed the seeds of future trouble. With the final banishment of Napoleon, representatives of the great powers who had defeated him met at Vienna to rearrange the boundaries of the European nations. At first they proposed only to re-establish the old order as it had been before the French Revolution. But the victorious nations expected to be rewarded with grants of territory for their aid in the defeat of Napoleon. And, one and all, they were hostile to France. Naturally not everyone could be pleased. The growing spirit of nationalism was completely ignored in the attempt to preserve a balance of power among the great nations.

The decisions which were reached at Vienna gave weary Europe a few years of peace, but they also laid the foundations for much future discord. As far as France was concerned, all of Napoleon's conquests were lost to her, and her boundaries were fixed nearly the same as they are today.

New ideas and ideals continued to live. The Congress of Vienna had favoured the restoration of the old monarchies and the absolute power of the kings over the people. It seemed as though the Third Estate in Europe had made no advance in its struggle for liberty. But this was not entirely true. In France, Napoleon had adopted and confirmed many of the social gains of the Revolution and these remained. Napoleon's soldiers had taken the ideas of the Revolution with them into many lands. Though their leader was an emperor, the soldiers did not forget the motto of the Revolution — "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." In many countries



French Information Service

A BRETON FISHING VILLAGE

For years before Jacques Cartier, Breton sailors were setting out in small boats from little ports like the above, to the Grand Banks off Newfoundland.



French Information Service

MODERN SAINT MALO

Throughout history Saint Malo, from which Jacques Cartier sailed, has been a seaport. Almost completely destroyed by bombing in World War II, the harbour installations are here shown being rebuilt.

people cherished a dream of these ideals of justice and equality. The restoration of the old order in Europe was not destined to last for many years.

The French people continued to strive for the right to govern themselves. It has been said of the English that they wanted their rights and also their kings. Not so the French after Napoleon's time. About the middle of the 19th century the people revolted against the monarchy which had been re-established after the defeat of Napoleon. They formed the Second Republic, and elected Louis Napoleon, a nephew of Napoleon I, as president. But Louis Napoleon clearly remembered the career of his uncle, and the presidency seemed only a stepping-stone to him. He tried to revive the glory which France had known under Napoleon Bonaparte. Louis Napoleon was able to change the Second Republic into the Second Empire with himself as Emperor. He took the title of Napoleon III. (Napoleon I had a son who would have become Napoleon II if fate had allowed.) But it was too late to attempt to revive the glorious days of the Empire. Napoleon III did not have the ability of his great relative and, moreover, the French had become keenly interested in liberty and suspicious of monarchs.

The Franco-Prussian War. In 1870 under Napoleon III France was crushingly defeated by Germany in a short war that had two farreaching results. It completed the unification of all the German states under one ruler and it increased the bitter feeling between the French and the Germans. To the French, one of the most objectionable features of the peace treaty that concluded this Franco-Prussian War was the loss of a part of her territory called Alsace-Lorraine. The treaty also forced them to pay a huge sum of money as indemnity to the Germans. The bad feeling aroused by this treaty of 1870 was still strong nearly a half century later, so that the Alsace-Lorraine question became one of the crucial issues of World War I.

France under the Third Republic. The National Assembly, which had been elected by the people to make peace with Germany, also reorganized the national government. The Third Republic was formed, and it continued in existence without interruption until World War II. In this republic the French

president was elected to the position by the two houses of the legislature for a seven-year term. As the head of the nation, he had much less power than the president of the United States. In fact the premier, who is chosen from the majority party in the French legislature, was the most powerful person in the government. The legislature itself was elected by the people, and divided into two houses called the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies, somewhat like the Parliament of Canada.

The Third Republic helped France develop as a modern nation. With their new government firmly established, in the latter part of the 19th century the French turned their attention to other improvements. The army and navy were reorganized and expanded. New laws were passed separating the Church and State, and extending the public-school system. A programme of public works was also undertaken; the government supported the building and improving of roads, railways, canals, and harbours.

During the middle of the 19th century the French had gained a firm foothold in the African colony of Algeria, but little had been done to develop this territory. In the latter part of the 19th century, the Third Republic turned its energies toward empire-building on a large scale. Almost all the northwestern part of the North African continent was added to the French possessions. This gave France an African empire many times her own size. The exports and imports of the

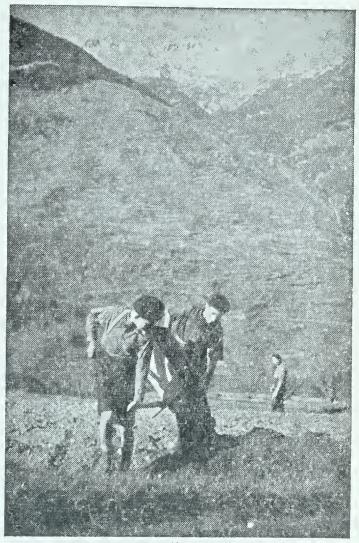
French African colonies were worth millions of dollars, and trade between the colonies and the homeland helped France to prosper. The French also gained control of a large territory formerly called Indo-China in southern Asia. At the end of World War I France regained Alsace-Lorraine from Germany, and added more territory in Africa to her Empire. It was in the African colonies of France that the American army landed in World War II.

The French people in the 20th century. During most of the history of the Third Republic, the middle class, or bourgeoisie, had the most influence in the government of France. They were democratic and nationalistic in their ideals; but in their desire for national prosperity they paid considerable attention to the wishes of the bankers and capitalists. The foreign policy of France in the 20th century was



French Information Service

The French Love Gaiety and Colour The magnificent vestments of the bell ringer in the religious procession shown above are typical of the French fondness for tradition.



French Injurmation Service

THE FRENCH ARE AN INDUSTRIOUS PEOPLE Two French boys are shown here dumping the earth which they have carried up the mountain-side. Only in this way can soil be kept on the steep slopes.

influenced by two strong forces—nationalism and imperialism.

After World War I, France, like Belgium, spent a number of years rebuilding her towns, and settling the financial problems that resulted from the war. Since the Germans failed to pay their war debt to France, the cost of reconstruction, added to the French war debt itself, involved the French in serious financial difficulties for a number of years. Riots and political scandals followed.

In the two decades before World War II, France suffered because of many political parties that ranged from conservatism to extreme radicalism. Party strife weakened the

nation, led to corruption in government, and weakened the national defence. These conditions made it easy for the Nazis to occupy France in 1940. A Nazi-backed government of French collaborators was set up at Vichy. But a strong underground movement showed that the ideas of free men lived on. After the Allied invasion of France in

June, 1944, a provisional government was formed. The Third Republic came to an end and the Fourth Republic came into being with the adoption of a new constitution. Now the co-operation of the political parties remains as one of the problems confronting Europe. If that problem is solved France may again become strong.

The French People Have Spread the Ideas of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity

France is located at the crossroads of western Europe. It is largely protected by natural boundaries, except along the Belgian border, where the coastal plain has been an easy path for invading armies. France has been essentially an agricultural country, but in recent times large-scale manufacturing has been developed. A large percentage of French exports are luxury goods, and "Made in France" has come to be a mark of quality and fine workmanship.

In ancient times France was called Gaul, and was ruled for several hundred years by the Romans. When the Romans withdrew in the 5th century, Frankish warriors from northern Europe dominated the country. Gaul came to be called France from the name of these people. Clovis and Charlemagne were the most outstanding of the early rulers. France, like many other nations, suffered from the ruthless pillaging of the Northmen. During feudal times, the kings of France had no more power than many of the feudal lords. At the beginning of the 12th century large areas of France were held by the English kings as vassals of the French crown. France and England were trade rivals, and disagreed also on fishing rights in the North Sea and the English Channel. The long-standing friction and rivalry between the two nations finally in the 14th century broke into open war that went on fitfully for about a hundred years. This Hundred Years' War ended in victory for France. The most unusual personality of that period was Joan of Arc, who helped to turn the tide against the English. The fame of Joan of Arc has grown until today she is looked upon as a national heroine.

At first when the Duke of Paris added to his title "King of France," he was king in name only. After the Hundred Years' War, the French kings gradually increased their power until they were considered divine right rulers. Louis XIV, the Sun King, built the beautiful palace of Versailles, and made the French language and fashions the envy of Europe. Successful foreign wars, and the large colonies the French had acquired in the New World, gave France

a position of prestige and dominance. But Louis XIV and his successors had been too extravagant. France became nearly bankrupt, and the people's plight looked hopeless. They were overtaxed, and lived as wretchedly as the serfs of feudal times. Voltaire, Rousseau, and other great thinkers championed the cause of justice. In 1789 the mobs stormed the Bastille and the French Revolution broke out. The cry "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" sounded throughout Paris. The monarchy was overthrown, and for a number of years violence, bloodshed, and confusion were the rule. The government of the Directory which was eventually set up soon proved corrupt and inefficient. It was easily overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte, the popular military hero of the day. Not only was order restored, but the people soon forgot their insistence upon a republican form of government, and elected this leader of men Emperor. Napoleon attempted not only to improve conditions within France, but to bring the rest of Europe under his rule. The latter proved to be his undoing, and he was defeated by an alliance of European nations at Waterloo in 1815. The Congress of Vienna attempted to reorganize Europe by restoring the old order as it had been before the French Revolution.

The French people continued to strive toward self-government. About the middle of the 19th century they overthrew the monarchy established after the defeat of Napoleon, and set up a second Republic. Napoleon's nephew, who was president of this Republic, changed it into the Second Empire, with himself as Emperor. During his rule, France was defeated by Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War. At its end, the Third Republic, under which France was governed until World War II, was established. In France the premier was the most powerful person in the government.

France enlarged her colonial empire greatly during the last century by acquiring large territories in Africa. But France suffered great losses in manpower and financial resources as a result of World War I. Financial difficulties helped to bring on political scandals. French politicians disagreed on national policy. France grew weak. The Nazis occupied the country and set up the Vichy government. Underground resistance grew strong and aided the Allied invasion. A provisional government was formed. The Third Republic gave way to the Fourth Republic and its new constitution.

SELF-TEST

The following kind of test is called an association test because for each item listed you are supposed to associate or recall something important in the story of France directly connected with the item. Two examples are given first to show you what is wanted. Do not write in your book.

| | | Item | | Associations |
|-----------|-----|---------------|-----|---------------------------------|
| Examples: | | Versailles | | Louis XIV |
| | | 1815 | | Waterloo, or defeat of Napoleon |
| | I. | Pyrenees | 15. | Bastille |
| | 2. | Rhône | 16. | La Salle |
| | 3. | Seine | 17. | Voltaire |
| | 4. | coastal plain | 18. | July 14 |
| | 5. | vineyards | 19. | Reign of Terror |
| | 6. | great ports | 20. | the "Marseillaise" |
| | 7. | Limoges | 2I. | the Directory |
| | 8. | Cro-Magnons | 22. | Arc de Triomphe |
| | 9. | Gaul | 23. | St. Helena |
| | IO. | the Franks | 24. | Congress of Vienna |
| | II. | Normandy | 25. | 1870 |
| | I2. | Hugh Capet | 26. | North Africa |
| | 13. | Rouen | 27. | Vichy |
| | | 1 (13) 1 13 | | 01 ' |

14. the Third Estate 28. Clovis

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

Projects for the Chart Maker and Artist

The first French Empire came to an end in 1763 when New France which is now called Canada, was turned over to the British. Make a map to show the extent of the French overseas expansion of this period. Tell what circumstances led the French to settle in these parts of the world, and indicate what parts of the Empire were lost and to whom.

Ideas for Your Little Theatre

- 1. In 1611 Champlain returned home to France from the little village of Quebec which he had founded three years earlier. The King of France, Louis XIII, was a boy ten years old at the time and must have been interested in the tales of adventure that Champlain had to tell. With a committee of students, act out the scene where Champlain presents an account of his voyages in Canada to the boy king. Using the scene within a scene technique you should be able to dramatize the adventures of Champlain, as the explorer tells his tale.
- 2. Get a phonograph recording of the "Marseillaise" to play for the class. If the song was recorded in French, first read an English translation of the words to the class.
- 3. With a committee of the class, arrange a display of French art and music. Collect pictures and mount them neatly for display. Plan to have speakers give brief talks about the artists and the pictures displayed. Obtain phonograph records of music by French

composers. Similarly, arrange for speakers to tell anecdotes of the life of the composer before playing each record. For biographical information, see "Fifty Famous Painters," by Henrietta Gerwig, and "Book of Modern Composers," by David Ewen. See also "Famous Pictures," by C. L. Barstow, and biographies of painters and composers in an encyclopedia.

Topics for Talks

I. "The fall of France." Within recent years, many books have been written about France and the reasons for her collapse before the Nazis. Consult the list at the end of this section, or your public library, for one of the newer books about France, to read and review for the benefit of the class.

2. "We often meet French phrases." Make a collection of French expressions that are frequently encountered in our English language and literature. You will find help in the foreign words and phrases section of any good dictionary. Some phrases, such as à la mode,

you already know.

3. "The Dreyfus case made the headlines." Look up the story of the famous Dreyfus scandal that affected not only the French army itself, but influenced the development of political factions in France. See "Dreyfus" in an encyclopedia. Read also "The Dreyfus Case," by A. Dreyfus and P. Dreyfus, or "Dreyfus Affair," by J. Kayser.

4. "The first time I saw Paris." Prepare a talk from the view-point of a Canadian soldier who was spending a leave in Paris after

the city was liberated from the Nazis in 1944.

Adventures for the Amateur Author

- 1. Prepare an account of an interview you might have had with Napoleon Bonaparte. By looking up some of Napoleon's sayings on war, and related subjects, you will be able to make the account of your interview convincing. See "Napoleon Speaks," by Albert Carr.
- 2. Write a few entries which might have appeared in the diary of one of Napoleon's soldiers who took part in the Russian campaign and the disastrous retreat from Moscow. By way of comparison, write a few entries from the diary of a Nazi soldier who served in one of the German armies on the Russian front in World War II. See "Napoleon's Invasion of Russia," by E. V. Tarle, and *Life*, Jan. 12, 1942. See also "Journey Among Warriors," pp. 177-182, 249-253, by Eve Curie.

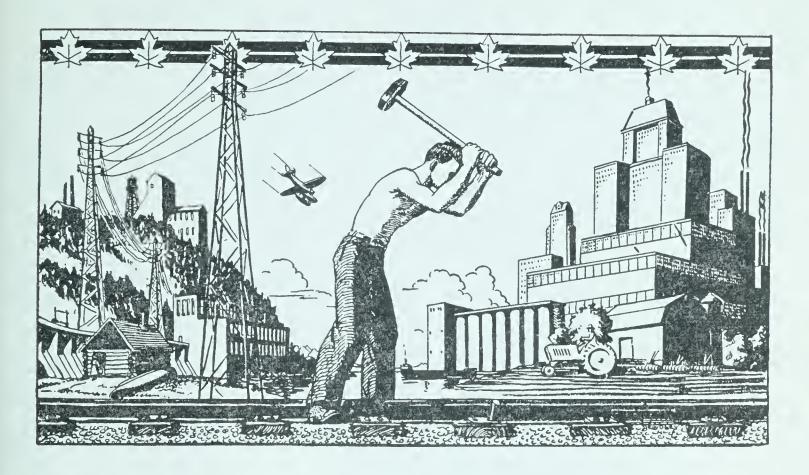
Candidates for Your Album of Famous People

Joan of Arc, Louis XIV, Napoleon, Rousseau, Voltaire. Choose three of the people listed above, or other people mentioned in the story of France for portraits in your Album.

INTERESTING READING ABOUT FRANCE

- BERAUD, H. Twelve Portraits of the French Revolution. Interesting descriptions of some of the great revolutionary characters and their aims.
- Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia. France—A Name That Rings Like a Battle Song.
- DICKENS, C. A Tale of Two Cities. "At one of the theatre doors, there stood a little girl with her mother, looking far away across the street through the mud."
- HAWTHORNE, HILDEGARDE. Phantom King. A story of Napoleon's son, the Duke of Reichstadt.
- Hugo, V. Les Misérables. "He came out of the doorway in which he was concealed."
- MACGREGORY, M. The Story of France. "Nobleman and peasants, armed with staves and scythes, set out to chase the royal runaway."
- Maurois, André. I Remember, I Remember. The autobiography of this French writer pictures men and events since World War I, and a heart-rending account of the fall of France in 1940.
- PECK, A. M., and MERAS, E. A. France, Crossroads of Europe. A simply written and entertaining book about French history, government, literature, social life, and customs.
- RIGGS, ARTHUR S. France from Sea to Sea. Descriptive sketches of French cities and country scenes highlight this account of a journey across France.
- Rugg, H. Changing Governments and Changing Cultures. The March toward Democracy in France. "Napoleon over-reached himself and destroyed his own future."
- SABATINI, RAFAEL. Scaramouche. A story of the early days of the Revolution.
- TAPPAN, E. M. Hero Stories of France. "At ten o'clock cannons were fired, bells were rung. . . ."
- TARBELL, IDA M. Life of Napoleon Bonaparte. A good biography of the great military hero of the French, and a short sketch of Josephine.
- WILMOT-BUXTON, E. M. Jeanne d'Arc. "Suddenly from the midst of the awful silence her voice rang out. . . "
- The World Book Encyclopedia. "The History of the French Revolution"; "France: The Story of France"; and Index.

PART THREE



DOMINION FROM SEA TO SEA

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Dominion from Sea to Sea

Visitors from Europe, when they travel across the country, are always greatly impressed by Canada's vast size. Look at a map of the world and the globe above. Do you see why Canada seems so huge to these visitors?

Canada's population is scattered across the country from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific. Look at the map of Canada on the preceding page. You will see that Canada is split by geography into six regions with different kinds of land. What changes would there be in your life if you moved from a farm on the prairie to a town in the rocky country of Northern Ontario?

There are several long railway lines shown on the map. Why do you think these railroads are especially important in a nation like Canada? The border between Canada and the United States is almost 4,000 miles long. That is why our American neighbours and their doings are of great importance to us.

The shortest way for an aeroplane to fly between many of the largest cities, such as Moscow and New York, is over the region of the North Pole. Why are Canadians interested in that? Look at the map often

as you read the story of Canada.

Chapter 1-Canada is a Triumph over Geography

An aviator's view of Canada. Making a trip by aeroplane, from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Vancouver, British Columbia, would be a good way to begin the study of geography. Very few boys and girls, however, are lucky enough to be able to make such a trip. But with the help of the map on page 88, we can imagine that we are flying from the Atlantic to the Pacific in one of those shining four-engined Trans-Canada Airlines planes that most of us have seen in the sky.

As we take off from St. John's, the Atlantic Ocean lies on our right hand, its long, grey waves breaking against the rocky coast. We are heading for Halifax on the mainland, but we must first fly northwest to Gander, the great airport from which trans-atlantic planes begin their flights to Europe. Below us the ocean makes deep inlets into the land and around these natural harbours cluster small fishing villages and tiny plots of land. At Gander we change to another plane and fly southwest. Our passage lies across a wild land of rocks and spruce trees, rivers and lakes, with little trace of settlement. Soon we are over the sea again. This is Cabot Strait which separates Newfoundland from the mainland. In the distance ahead of us we can see land, and soon we are over it. Shortly after, our plane touches down on the field at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

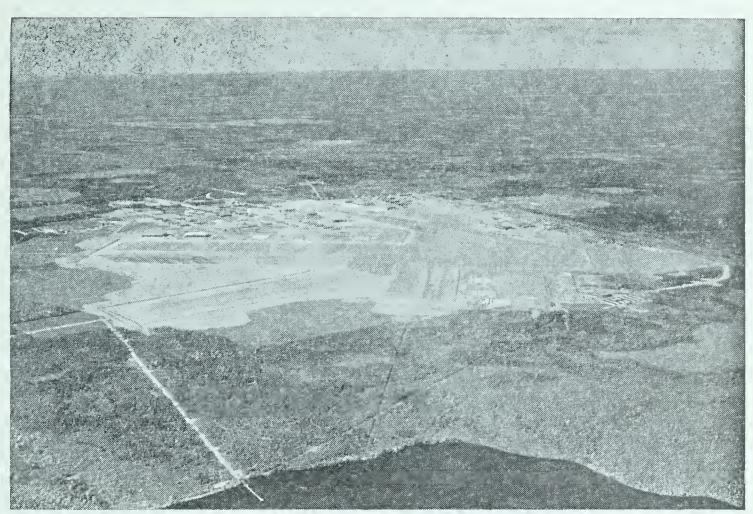
As the plane rises from the Hali-

fax airport, all on board the plane gaze down on the breath-taking sight of the immense, blue-grey ocean. The restless waters (which look flat and calm from the plane) stretch far away to the eastern horizon. The few ships, near harbour, look like motionless little toys.

Our plane heads northwest towards Moncton, and in a very few minutes the ocean is out of sight. The famous Annapolis Valley unrolls below us, with its row on row of apple trees and its neat little towns. Tiny fishing boats on the Bay of Fundy can be seen to our left.

The Appalachians divide Quebec and the Maritimes. Not long after we leave Moncton the type of country changes. Through gaps in the low-hanging clouds we catch glimpses of the densely-wooded slopes of the Appalachian [app pa lay'chee an] mountains. These are high, rounded hills, not towering mountains such as we shall see later in the Rockies. Few signs of life are visible in this wild country along the Quebec-New Brunswick border. It is a geographic fence separating the Maritimes from the people of Quebec.

By the time the mighty St. Lawrence River comes into sight ahead, a quick downward glance tells us that once more we are over farm lands. Towns become more numerous. Then on the horizon appear the skyscrapers of Montreal. Soon



Royal Canadian Air Force

Eastern Terminus

Our journey by aeroplane from ocean to ocean really begins at Gander airport which is pictured above. You will find the location of Gander on the map of Newfoundland on page 207. Where is Goose airport? Both of these played an important role in World War II. Can you explain why?

this city, where almost one-tenth of all the people in Canada live, is spread out below like a huge map.

From Montreal to Toronto our route follows the St. Lawrence River and the shore of Lake Ontario. Here are fine farms and scores of villages. As we fly over the larger towns, we see sprawling factories with tall chimneys, evidence of manufacturing. This land is part of the St. Lawrence Lowlands. Only one per cent of Canada's whole area lies in this region, yet the location is so favourable and the soil so productive that more than half of Canada's people have made their homes in the Lowlands.

The Canadian Shield drives a wedge between east and west. Swinging

northwest from Toronto, our plane takes us along the northern shores of Lakes Huron and Superior. Here is the kind of country that the hunter and trapper love. Mile after mile of rocks, lakes, rivers and forests. Occasionally we pass over a mine or a pulp and paper mill with a small town clustered around it. Such settlements seem almost lost in the surrounding wilderness. This is a poor place for a crash landing! Though our plane travels 200 miles an hour, several hours are required to cross this part of Canada (as you will realize by looking at the map). Yet we have flown over only a small section of the Canadian Shield. Finally, this great barrier between eastern and western Can-



I rans-Lanada Airines

CONTROL TOWER AT MONTREAL A T.C.A. passenger plane takes off from the field at Montreal.

ada disappears and once more farm land lies below.

The Rockies cut the west in two. Hour after hour the flat prairie lands unroll beneath us like a moving carpet. As far as the eye can see the fields of grain stretch in every direction. Just when we are beginning to think that the wheatlands will never end, away off on the horizon ahead we spy snow-capped mountain peaks. Below us now are gently rising lands on which graze large herds of cattle.

As we travel high over the majestic Rocky Mountains we realize that here is another fence, this one cutting off the people of the prairies from their neighbours in British Columbia. In a short time our plane settles down at the airport in Vancouver.

Canada is really six countries. Now that we have made our flight across our country we know that Canada is not one continuous chain of cities and towns strung together from Atlantic to Pacific. There are really six different parts of Canada. Comparatively few Canadians live in that tremendous region called the Canadian Shield. The southern point of the shield is like a huge wedge dividing Canada into east and west. Both of these parts are also split in two, the west by the Rockies and the east by the Appalachians. So Canada is like four countries fairly well populated, one large country with a handful of people, and one big island, lying off its eastern coast, commanding approach to our country through the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

How, you may ask, did these six countries become joined into one nation? Why isn't each one a separate nation? Why isn't each one joined to the section of the United States south of it? Why isn't North America all one nation?

To find the answers to these questions, we shall have to read the story of Canada. One thing our aerial survey has taught us—that geography had a great deal to do with the history of Canada.

For a long time no one cared much about Canada. Today Canada is one of the fortunate nations. Its many farms produce food in great quantities; it has mines and forests to provide materials for the factories which supply Canadians with clothing and shelter. Many people in Europe and Asia would give a great deal for a chance to come to



Royal Canadian Air Force

In the Gatineau

The rivers in the Canadian Shield are a valuable source of hydro-electric power.

Canada to live.

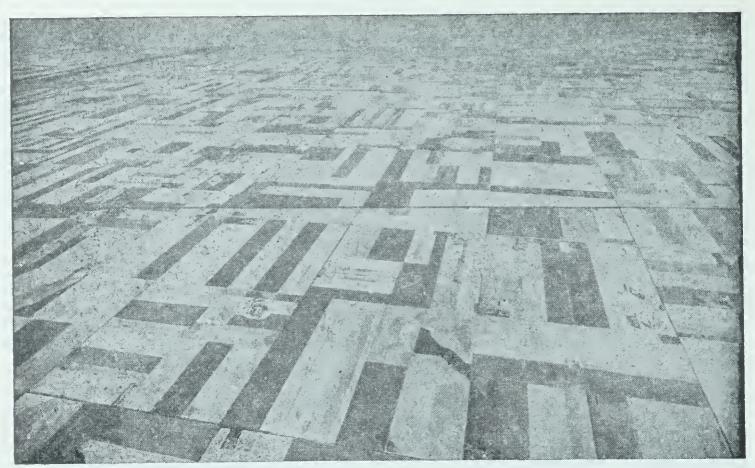
But for a long, long time, men in Europe thought Canada was almost worthless. Before 1,000 A.D. Vikings from Greenland had visited the eastern shores of Canada, and may even have penetrated central Canada to the region of Lake Superior. No one knows why they did not stay. Perhaps the Indians killed them. Perhaps the Vikings thought the new land was too far from their old homeland in Europe.

When Cartier [kar'tyay'] and other early explorers came, they were very disappointed to find that Canada barred the way to China. They had hoped to find a route to the rich lands of the Far East, where they might make fortunes by trading. For many years, the men who sailed to Canada thought mostly about how they could get over, through or around this al-

most worthless country. The furs and fish which were found here were taken back to Europe to be sold, but they seemed poor substitutes for the spices and jewels of China.

Britain did not value Canada highly. About three centuries ago, England captured Quebec, the stronghold of Canada, but gave it back to France a few years later. Less than two centuries ago, the British under Wolfe again captured Quebec. When discussing the peace treaty with France, the British statesmen were prepared to trade the whole of Canada for the little island of Guadeloupe [gah deh loop'] in the West Indies. They were left with Canada on their hands and thought that they had the worst of the bargain.

"Good riddance!" was the general attitude of the French in the



Royal Canadian Air Force

OVER THE PRAIRIES

"The flat prairie land unrolls beneath us like a moving carpet."

old land when they finally lost Canada. To Louis XV of France, Canada seemed only a "few acres of snow" which had caused more trouble and expense than they were worth.

The British had been profiting from the fur trade since the Hudson's Bay Company was formed in 1670. The fisheries of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia had also proved quite valuable. When Britain could not get timber and other naval materials from the countries in northern Europe during the fight with Napoleon, Canadian timber and supplies were used instead. But, all in all, these northern colonies contributed only a small share to Britain's total trade.

Great inventions made modern Canada possible. For anyone interested in machines, the first half of the 19th century was a fascinating time. Hardly a year passed without a new invention or an improvement on an old one. Steamship, railroad, locomotive, grain reaper, electric dynamo, telegraph—all these were placed at man's command to change the world and the way people lived.

No country was more affected by the new inventions than was Canada. The whole course of her history was changed by the invention of the steamship and the steam engine.

A country united by bonds of steel. The new machines could conquer the toughest obstacles geography could present, mountains, rivers, muskeg and forest. British people in the various parts of North America, Maritimes, St. Lawrence region, prairies and Pacific coast, realized that the barriers between them could be pierced. Then in

the minds of the colonists a new vision arose, a vision of one nation in place of scattered settlements. In a great surge of energy, determination and hope, the widely separated colonies were joined by steel rails stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The men and women who were determined to keep the Union Jack flying in this northern land risked their future on a steel road and "iron horse." We know today that the risk was worth taking. Canada could not have become a united country without railroads. Truly, she is a nation held together by bonds of steel.

Canada's ports connect her with the outside world. For many years Canada has had more than her share of the world's trade. By 1942 (owing partly to the War) Canada was the third largest trading nation in the world. In that year Canada's total trade was about a third as large as that of the United States, although the United States had a population twelve times greater than that of Canada.

You can easily realize how important Canada's harbours are, for much of the trade passes through them. Not only are ocean ports valuable, but the many inland harbours are very useful in handling great quantities of imports and exports. Large lake ships go from Lake Superior to Montreal, with the help of giant locks to carry them around falls and rapids. This system may be enlarged so that huge ocean ships may come from the Atlantic right in to the heart of Canada at Fort William. Of

course, this inland ship route is frozen over in the winter when railways must do the whole job. However, in the open season the lake ships carry much of the freight which gives Canada its high position among the world's trading nations.

By means of trade, Canada gains prosperity. But trade is also a good way for Canada to keep old friends among the nations and to make new ones. Especially with her sister nations of the British Commonwealth does Canada maintain close co-operation in exchanging the goods we have for the goods we need.

The aeroplane has made Canada the cross-roads of the world. If you wish to fly a very long distance in the Northern Hemisphere, the shortest route will take you near the Arctic circle. You may easily prove this. With a piece of string measure on a globe the shortest way by air from, say, Chicago to London.

Now if you use your globe again and determine the shortest flying routes between the big cities of America and Europe or Asia, you will observe that most of them cross Canada. With air travel becoming more and more popular, you will realize that Canada has an important place in the air age.

If you had lived in Edmonton during the second World War you might have seen for yourself evidence of how important Canada's place in the air age might become. The great airfields close to that city were busy on a round-the-clock schedule with planes landing from and taking off for all parts



CANADA IN THE AIR AGE

Whether your destination is in Europe, Asia, or Africa, if you travel by air, from North America the shortest route lies over Canadian territory. On the map above find New York, Shanghai, London, Paris, Moscow. If you wish to fly from the first of these to any of the others, what Canadian cities would you pass?

of the allied world at a rate of one every ten and a half seconds. Great bombers, transports, and fighter planes flown by American pilots from fields in the United States would drop from the clouds to the Edmonton flying fields. These planes were part of the equipment with which the United States was arming its allies in the war against Germany. In Edmonton they were

eagerly awaited by Russian pilots, both men and women, who flew them across the Great Circle route to Russian landing fields. From there they were distributed to the Russian airforce and in a few weeks were in action against the enemy on fronts half a world away from the factories in which they had been made. During the war, in a very real sense, Edmonton became

one of the great crossroads of the world. Since the end of the war the number of fliers who have touched down at Edmonton in the course of round-the-world flights bears witness to the fact that the importance of Canada in any future developments in the air age remains as great as ever.

How well is Canada equipped to play the important part that awaits her?

Because of her great north-land with its rich minerals hidden in very rough country, Canada has taken the lead in using the aeroplane for carrying supplies and machinery to out-of-the-way places. The bush-fliers, as the pilots of these planes are called, are playing a great part in the task of putting the north's mineral wealth to work in building a better Canada.

Federal and provincial governments make use of planes to patrol our great forest reserves, on guard against fire, and to map previously uncharted areas. Private air lines take parties of sportsmen and tourists, many from the United States, to the hunting grounds and fishing streams in Canada's north country.

The federal government early recognized the future importance of air travel and determined to keep control of the air routes in its own hands. Government owned and operated, the Trans-Canada Airlines was organized in 1938, and has since become one of the best passenger services in the world. Its planes fly coast to coast, linking all of Canada's principal cities. Regular flights connect Toronto and St. John's, Newfoundland, with New

York, Chicago, Cleveland, and Boston; while from Dorval, near Montreal, trans-atlantic planes take off daily, sometimes touching down at Goose Bay in Labrador, or Gander airport in Newfoundland, sometimes flying non-stop to Britain. So small has the world become, in this air age, that under ideal conditions of weather and connections it is actually possible to fly by T.C.A. from Vancouver to Prestwick in Scotland in 28 hours.

During World War II the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan was operated in Canada by the governments of the various Dominions. Under this plan thousands of young men, many of them Canadians, were trained as pilots, navigators and mechanics, while a string of well-equipped air fields was built at strategic points in every corner of Canada. At the end of the war control of these fields passed to the federal government.

It is certain that the air-transports of the future will be powered by jet-propelled motors. Canada has already made a good start on the production of transports of this kind. A factory, near Toronto, has turned out a model which passed its first tests in a satisfactory manner. Our country, then, is fortunate in the quality of her pilots and their equipment and, with control of the international routes across the country and the strategic airfields in the hands of the government, Canada in the first years of the air age seems ready to take advantage of her strategic position at the crossroads of the world.



Royal Canadian Navy

TOMORROW'S PLANE TODAY

High above Toronto soars the Avro-Canada twin-jet CF-100, the first long range, all-weather aeroplane of its kind. Manufactured in Canada, it is a striking proof that our country is well aware of its position in the air age and is making every effort to meet its responsibility.

History, geography and you. Everyone likes to explore. As soon as you move into a new neighbourhood, you are eager to see what kind of place it is. The way you live and the fun you have depends partly on the surroundings in which you live. For instance, a boy is always pleased if he finds a good swimming hole near his new home, and disappointed if he doesn't find a good ball field nearby.

It is the same with your national home. You are growing up to live in Canada. The kind of life you have will depend partly on what kind of country Canada is. *That*

depends, in turn, on geography—the land, rivers, lakes, mountains and valleys. It also depends on history, which tells about the people who lived here before you and what they did for their country.

This story of Canada will help you do some exploring to find out in what kind of country you live. You have read something about its geography in this chapter, and you will read more because, in the story of a nation, geography and history cannot be separated. You will find in Canada's history many things which will help you to understand your country better. You will learn

how the early Canadians were undaunted by the task of conquering half a continent. You will learn how Canadians triumphed over geography in their great desire to build a new country in which to enjoy the fruits of the land and the rights of freedom.

As you learn about the people who were Canadians before you,

keep in mind what you have found out in this chapter about the geography of our country. Whenever you read about a lake, river, town or mountain, look for it on the map in this book or on the large map in your classroom. By doing that, you will understand better the story of Canada and its people in the chapters which follow.

Chapter 2—New France, Rival of New England, Was Built by Fur Traders and Missionaries

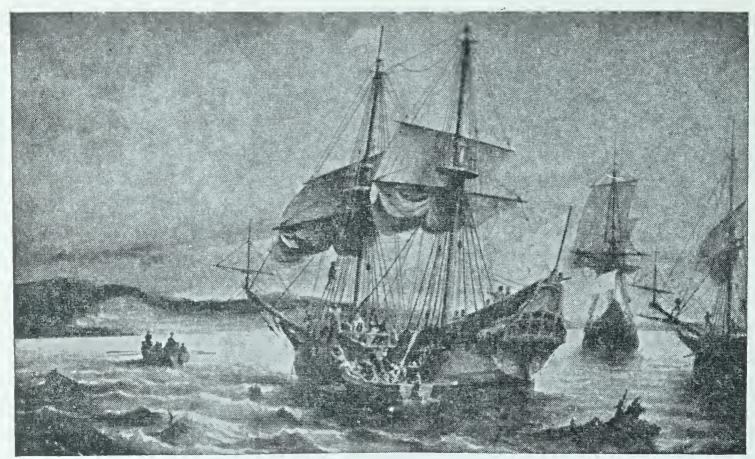
The country that was in the way. Christopher Columbus made great mistake in his mathematics. He calculated that the distance from Spain to Japan was less than 3,000 miles. The King of Spain's geographers said that this was a ridiculous idea because their figures proved that the distance was over 10,000 miles. But Columbus was a determined man. In 1492 he sailed away over the Atlantic to the westward. When he came to islands only 3,500 miles from Spain, he naturally thought that his mathematics had been proven right. So sure was Columbus that he had reached Asia that he called the people whom he found there "Indians."

After Columbus' death, owing to the work of other explorers, the Spaniards realized that they had found a new continent. No sooner did they learn this than explorers began to search for a way through or around the new land. The man who could find a passage to Asia could make his fortune. The people

of Europe were eager to buy spices and silks from India and China.

Other rulers were anxious to share with the King of Spain the honour of the search for the sea route to Asia. So the King of England sent John Cabot on a voyage to the westward from England in 1497. Great was the excitement among the merchants of England when Cabot returned to tell how he had reached Asia. However, his second voyage proved that he had reached, not Asia, but a "New-Found-Land." Like the Spaniards the English were not altogether happy about their discovery. They would have been very pleased to find that North and South America were only large islands with a strait between. For many years hardy explorers risked their lives trying to get through or around this new land which was in

Fish for the tables of England and France. If the merchants did not rejoice about the new land, the fishermen certainly did. Along the



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ARRIVAL OF JACQUES CARTIER AT STADACONA

The name of the tiny ship in which Jacques Cartier crossed the Atlantic was La Grande Hermine. This reproduction of a painting which may still be seen in Saint Malo, shows La Grand Hermine and two other ships arriving at Stadacona. What modern city is to be found today on the site of Stadacona?

coasts of the "New-Found-Land" there were fish by the millions. So plentiful were they that basketfulls could be hauled from the sea to fill the ships.

John Cabot's tales of the seas swarming with cod spread rapidly through the fishing ports of Europe. Soon daring sailors were taking their tiny ships across the Atlantic every year. The great harvest of fish was very valuable to Europe. The fishermen went quietly about their business with little thought of exploring. They were content to bring their yearly catch to the fish markets at home.

"Jacques Cartier to the westward sailed away."

In the seaport of St. Malo, 'twas a smiling morn in May,

When the Commodore Jacques Cartier to the westward sailed away;

In the crowded old cathedral, all the town were on their knees;

For the safe return of kinsmen from the undiscovered seas.

So begins D'Arcy McGee's stirring poem about the French explorer Jacques Cartier who is known as the Discoverer of Canada. This master-pilot had been one of the fishermen who sailed to the coasts of the new land. But unlike the others, he was curious to know what lay beyond. Probably he had heard tales from the savages about a great waterway leading to the west. Could this, he asked, be a route to the Western Ocean?

The King of France, too, wished his country to be represented in the

New World. He was anxious to claim a share of the new lands across the ocean before they were all taken by Spain, Portugal and England. So in 1534, Jacques Cartier of St. Malo sailed in command of the King's expedition to the New World. On this voyage, Cartier explored the Gulf of St. Lawrence but did not find the great river itself.

The next summer, the explorer made a second voyage and located the entrance to the St. Lawrence River. This discovery brought a great disappointment, for the fresh water of the river meant that it could not be the strait to the Western Ocean. Only when he had given up all hope of finding a salt-water passage leading westward from the Gulf did Cartier sail up the river.

Canada's winter discouraged the French. Cartier visited the large Indian settlements at Stadacona (now Quebec) and at Hochelaga (now Montreal). This stretch of land along the St. Lawrence was called "Canada" by the Indians. The Indians seemed delighted to welcome these strange visitors who brought gifts, such as hatchets, knives and beads. But Cartier was suspicious. He believed the natives were not as friendly as they pretended to be.

With his one hundred and ten men, Cartier stayed through the winter of 1535-36 at Stadacona. So afraid was he of a treacherous attack led by the Indian chief Donnacona, that he ordered the ships taken into a small river and moored near the bank. On the nearby shore, the French built a

fort with a moat surrounding it. Cannon were brought from the ships. Guards were kept on the alert all night.

The Canadian winter was a dreadful experience for the French. Blizzards and bitter cold forced them to stay in their quarters. A terrible disease called scurvy broke out, caused by the lack of fresh vegetables. By the middle of the winter, Cartier's party was in a desperate situation. Twenty - five men had died, fifty more were near death. Only the courageous leader himself and three or four others were still in good health.

Cartier did not dare allow the Indians to learn how weak his men had become. To prevent the savages from wondering why so few of the French were to be seen outside, the few healthy men would make a great hammering noise as if repairing the ships, whenever Indians came near. Every Sunday, all the French who could walk took their places in a solemn procession to a little shrine outside the fort.

At last an Indian, who himself had been very ill and who had made a miraculous recovery, told Cartier of a medicine that could be made by stewing the leaves and bark of a tree. When the French gave this remedy to their sick, the results seemed almost like a miracle. In eight days a whole tree was used up and Cartier's men were healthy again.

Jacques Cartier to the eastward sailed away. In May, the Frenchmen set out for home after the harrowing winter. They had tricked a few



Public Archives of Canada

THE FATHER OF NEW FRANCE
It was Samuel de Champlain's faith in
Canada which carried the early settlers
through the dangers and disappointments
of the first years.

Indians into coming on board and took them back to France as proof of their visit to the new land.

Not for five years did Cartier return to Canada. Then, the King supplied the money for a bigger expedition. A noble, Roberval, was the leader and Cartier was second-in-command. Troubles and delays plagued the leaders. Finally Cartier went on ahead with five ships. He spent another winter in Canada but the relentless cold and the unfriendly Indians seem to have dampened his enthusiasm for making a French settlement in Canada.

The next spring, Cartier sailed back towards France. Roberval had come out with three more ships and the two little fleets met in the harbour of St. John's, Newfound-

land. Unknown to Roberval, who wished to go on to Canada, Cartier sailed out of the harbour one night and returned to France. Roberval tried to make a settlement but he also had to admit defeat after one winter. All the French sailed back home.

The Indians were left in undisputed possession of Canada for sixty years more. The fishermen still came to the teeming waters along the coast. A few of them traded with the Indians and took furs back to Europe. But France itself was torn by religious wars and its people were too busy to worry about settling in this newly-discovered region called Canada.

The birth of New France at Quebec. It was July 3, 1608. Up the St. Lawrence River sailed a small ship flying the fleur-de-lis flag of France. From the deck, the captain watched the shore with keen interest. As the vessel sailed past the Island of Orleans, a majestic rocky hill came into view, towering over a point which the natives called Quebec (the closed - up place). No signs remained of the thriving Indian village of Stadacona found by Cartier seventythree years before. The French leader ordered his men ashore. Soon the summer silence was broken by the sharp noises of chopping and sawing as the newcomers began to make a settlement.

Samuel de Champlain [duh sham' playn'] was the stout-hearted captain. He came to set up his head-quarters in the wilds of Canada. From Quebec, he intended to carry on the search for "a northerly route

to China, in order to facilitate commerce with the Orientals." Champlain had great dreams of a New France as a post on the long route to the Far East. He hoped that Quebec would soon become a large city bringing gold and glory to France.

Difficulties made Champlain try all the harder. If any ordinary man had suffered one-quarter of Champlain's hardships and disappointments, he would soon have gone home in despair. Fortunately for France, Champlain was no ordinary man. For twenty-seven years he fought, planned and worked with might and main to make his dreams of a New France come true. Most of his great dreams were shattered by the cruel blows of weather, enemies and hard luck, but Champlain never gave up.

After his first winter, Champlain reported that "out of the twenty-eight at first forming our company, only eight remained, and half of those were ailing." The cruel winter had taken its toll, as in Cartier's time. Few people were willing to face the blizzards and icy blasts of Canada. After nineteen years, Quebec had but sixty-five settlers. Yet the English colony in the warmer climate of Virginia, founded one year before Quebec, had over 4,000 people by 1622.

How far west to salt water? There were other reasons for the halting progress of the French colony. Champlain's explorations soon revealed that the mystery of the route to the Western Ocean was not to be easily solved. In 1613, he was in Paris when a young French-

man, Nicholas Vignau [vee'nyoh], arrived from Canada. He was one of several young men whom Champlain had sent to the forest to learn the Indian language and customs. His story was excitinga great salt sea could be reached in nine days' journey from the mouth of the Ottawa River. Champlain hurried back to Canada. If Vignau had really discovered the North-West Passage to the Pacific Ocean, Champlain's most cherished dream had come true. But after a hard journey up the Ottawa River, Vignau finally confessed that his story was a pack of lies. Never had Champlain been so bitterly disappointed. Two years later he journeyed farther into the wilderness and came to Georgian Bay, the eastern part of Lake Huron. The first taste of its fresh water told Champlain that it was another inland lake, not the long sought Western Ocean with China on its far shore.

Champlain was truly the Father of New France. The King of France gave the right to gather furs to traders who agreed to bring out settlers. But year after year, the traders failed to live up to their promise. Finally, the great Cardinal Richelieu [reesh'l'yuh] formed the Company of New France with money supplied by many of the great men of the kingdom. A large expedition was prepared. A new day for New France seemed about to dawn.

Then war broke out with England. The French supply ships were all captured. Champlain and the few starving survivors at Quebec



G. A. Reid, Public Archives of Canada

TRADING WITH THE INDIANS AT MONTREAL

Trading in furs was the life blood of the colony of New France and the Indians furnished the main source of supply.

surrendered to the English. All the years of toil seemed in vain. But Quebec had been captured after the war was over and Champlain pleaded with Cardinal Richelieu to demand that the English give up New France. Canada was then of almost no importance to the English leaders, who agreed to hand back the captured colony.

It must have been a great day for Champlain when he returned in the spring of 1633 to see above Quebec the white flag with its golden fleur-de-lis. Two years later, Champlain died in the new land which had shattered so many of his high hopes. But, by unfailing courage and determination, he had succeeded in planting his country's

flag firmly in the soil claimed for France by Cartier.

The fur trade was the life-blood of New France. The kings of France were pleased to have new colonies such as Quebec. They were not, however, prepared to supply the money necessary to keep the colonies going. Strangely enough, the necessary money came from people who wanted new hats. Just at this time it was the fashion in Europe for men of wealth to wear beaver hats. In the country around Quebec were thousands of beaver. Indians trapped them and used the pelts for warm cloaks. The Indians, however, had never discovered iron. When traders brought iron muskets, kettles, knives and axes, every

Indian wanted these wonderful new tools. The French had plenty of iron. It was natural, then, that the French, who had iron and wanted beaver, should begin a brisk trade with the Indians, who had beaver and wanted iron. The Indians called the French the "people of iron" and believed that the King of France was given his position because he could make the largest iron kettles. The fur trade for a time financed New France.

Furs or farms? From this trade in furs, the French at Quebec made the money needed to buy their supplies and ships. But most of the traders cared nothing about building up a strong New France in America. They were interested only in profits from trading. They thought Champlain's ideas were foolish. None of the companies which had charge of the fur trade tried very hard to keep their promises to bring out settlers. The fewer settlers, they felt, the better for the traders. If colonists cut down the trees to make farms, the Indians would have to go farther inland to trap the beavers.

In the English colonies to the south, furs were not nearly so plentiful as in Canada. The land, however, was better for agriculture, so a steady stream of farmers came out to Virginia and New England. These colonies became strong and prosperous. They supplied most of their own food. But New France depended on furs to pay for its food brought from the homeland. If the price of furs rose, New France prospered. If the price fell, as often happened,

the people of New France almost starved.

Missionaries and traders were poor partners. Champlain was a strong supporter of the Catholic Church. He encouraged the religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus, to send out priests to convert the Indians to Christianity. These Jesuits, as members of the Society of Jesus were called, entered into the missionary work with tremendous zeal and energy. They looked upon the Indians of America as souls who must be converted from their savage customs to the Christian way of life. It was inevitable that they would soon have arguments with the fur traders, who cared nothing for Indian souls but cared much for beaver skins. Both missionaries and fur traders did much to keep New France for their country, but as they were trying to do different things, they were poor partners in the building of New France.

"The Iroquois are coming!" was a dreaded message. Soon after Champlain arrived in Canada, he became involved in an Indian war. The Algonquin [al gon kw'n] tribe hunted in the lands along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. The Hurons were settled in the lands between Georgian Bay and Lake Ontario. These two tribes were fighting against the Iroquois [eer'oh kwaw] whose lands extended from the southern shores of Lake Ontario east to the Hudson River. Champlain, as we have seen, was interested chiefly in two things, the route to the Western Sea, and the fur trade. He had to be friendly

with the Hurons because he believed that the North-West Passage lay through their land. He had to make the Algonquins his allies because they trapped furs for the French along the St. Lawrence. So Champlain felt that it was to the French advantage to aid the Hurons and Algonquins in their warfare against the Iroquois.

On a raid into Iroquois country with a Huron war-party, Champlain gave the redskins a taste of European fighting on the shores of the lake now named after him. "I rested my musket against my cheek," says Champlain, "and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs. With the same shot two fell to the ground. This caused great alarm among the Iroquois." It also caused great anger against the French. The Iroquois began trading with the English and Dutch who were settling along the Atlantic coast. Muskets were added to the arrows, tomahawks and scalping knives which the Iroquois used so savagely. Within a few years, the Iroquois were keeping the French in constant fear of attack. Any bush might hide a bloodthirsty Iroquois warrior, any bend in a river might conceal a fleet of Iroquois canoes. Many French scalps hung from Iroquois belts, many furs being carried to Quebec were stolen by Iroquois raiders and taken to English or Dutch posts. "The Iroquois are coming!" was a cry which sent shivers of horror up and down French spines.

The Jesuits did heroic deeds for Christ. Just at dawn on March 16, 1649 three Huron braves dashed

into the little village of St. Louis. They shouted their terrifying message, "Iroquois!" then fled for the better fortified village of Ste. Marie farther along the shore of Georgian Bay. Eighty warriors, thinking that there would not be many Iroquois so early in the year, decided to fight. They urged the two Jesuit missionaries, Jean de Brébeuf |bray'b@f | and Gabriel Lalemant [lal'man], to escape to Ste. Marie. The two Frenchmen replied that it was their duty to remain so that they could give the Church's final blessing to the dying.

Before sunrise, over one thousand screaming Iroquois rushed at the wooden walls of St. Louis. The Hurons fought bravely, but they could not hold off the hordes of battle-maddened warriors. In a few minutes, Brébeuf, Lalemant and the few living Hurons were prisoners of the Iroquois. As usual after a victory, the savages tied the prisoners to stakes and began the torture. The two priests endured hours of the most savage cruelty, before the Indians finally killed them.

The Iroquois warriors were not content until they had completely wrecked all the missions that the Jesuits had built up during twenty years of labour. The Hurons who escaped the Iroquois tomahawks had to leave their pleasant land of Huronia, between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe. Just when the Jesuits had seemed on the point of success in converting the Hurons to Christianity, this terrible blow had fallen. However, the Jesuits did not give up. They even tried,

though with little success, to convert the Iroquois. Their letters to France did a great deal to rouse interest in the colony.

The British come on the scene. We have learned how disappointed the early explorers were because America was in the way. The Spaniards found huge amounts of gold in Central America, which made up for their failure to get to Asia. But the French and English to the north found no gold. The fish and furs which they did find did not compare, in their opinion, with the Spanish gold.

However, some Englishmen did realize the true value of the new continent. The year before Champlain founded Quebec a small colony was established in Virginia. Thirteen years later more Englishmen landed near Boston. Here was the beginning of the New England which was to be the great rival of New France. The Dutch colony of New Amsterdam was captured by the British and renamed New York. This gave England the whole Atlantic coast from Virginia to New England. In 1670, the famous Hudson's Bay Company was formed. It gave the English a foothold in the far north of Canada. The French on the St. Lawrence and in Acadia (now the Maritime Provinces of Canada) were thus between two British territories. Competition for furs and new lands began in real earnest. Differences in religion between Catholic France and Protestant England, and quarrels between France and England in Europe added more fuel to the flames of strife. The stage was set for the struggle between New France and New England, with all North America as the prize.

The King collects his rent. During their visit to Canada in 1939, King George and Queen Elizabeth took part, at Winnipeg, in a strange ceremony. Before the gate of old Fort Garry the royal car was halted while the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company presented the King with the mounted heads of two elk, and a pair of choice beaver pelts.

Newspaper correspondents who accompanied the royal tour were much interested in this ceremony and hastened to give an account of it to readers of newspapers in every corner of the world. The Hudson's Bay Company, they explained, was simply paying its rent.

To understand why the Hudson's Bay Company had to pay rent to the King, and why the rent took the curious form it did, we have to go back almost three hundred years in the story of Canada.

Two Frenchmen open the back door of Canada to the English. At the court of King Charles II of England at Oxford there appeared, one day in 1665, two Frenchmen with the amusing names, to the English at least, of Radisson [ra' dee' son] and Groseilliers [gro' seh' yay]. The story they had to tell was almost as outlandish as their names. They were brothers-in-law, both Canadians, from Three Rivers. Both knew well the ways of the Indians, were skilful hunters and travelers, and were clever at trading for furs. A year or two before, they had made their way into new territory,



The Hudson's Bay Company

THE COMPANY PAYS ITS RENT

Under the terms of its charter, the Hudson's Bay Company must pay to the successor of the King who gave them the charter, whenever he came to Canada, two elks and two black beaver. Here the Governor of the Company offers two beaver skins to King George VI, while the Queen looks on.

previously unexplored, to the west of Lake Superior. Finding that this great lake did not, as they had hoped, lead to the Pacific, they turned north where, in Radisson's words, at last they "came to the sea side." They had made their way by land to Hudson Bay the great inland sea discovered by Henry Hudson in 1610.

From this new territory, the two men took a great quantity of furs with which they retraced their path to Quebec. Before leaving that town, however, they had failed to obtain a licence to trade, and, on their return, Groseilliers was thrown into jail, and most of the proceeds of the historic trip found their way

ernor. When an appeal to King Louis XIV failed to gain justice for them, Radisson and Groseilliers made their way into English territory and later to England, where, at the court of the Merry Monarch, they told their story. They offered to lead an expedition into the new land they had discovered and promised a fortune to those who shared in the expenses.

A Company of Adventurers Trading into Hudson's Bay. Almost three years passed before the cautious English acted; then two ships were placed at the disposal of the Frenchmen for a voyage to Hudson Bay. Radisson's ship was driven

ship completed the dangerous journey and cast anchor in James Bay. Here a tiny fort, named Charles in honour of the King, was erected at the mouth of a river called Rupert after the King's cousin who had been greatly interested in the adventures of the two men and had used his influence to help them.

Groseilliers spent the winter among the Indians, with such good results that in the spring hundreds of Indian canoes arrived in the Bay with a rich cargo of the finest beaver skins for Groseilliers' ship. When the return voyage was successfully made and the furs sold, the profits were so great that immediately the original investors asked the King for a charter granting them, and to them only, the right to trade in the new territory. King Charles was not unwilling to do his cousin Rupert a good turn, and so in 1670 a royal charter was granted to an organization whose proud name was "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson's Bay." That is still the full title of the company which is known to most Canadians today by the shorter name of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The charter declared that the Governor and Company of Adventurers were "true and absolute Lordes" over all the rivers running into Hudson Bay and over all the land drained by these rivers. A glance at a map of modern Canada will show that the King can hardly be accused of lack of generosity. For by the charter he was making

to the Company a gift of all the province of Ontario, part of the province of Quebec, the whole of Manitoba, all of Saskatchewan, half of Alberta, and a large part of the Northwest Territories. King Charles did not ask too much in the way of rent for this vast grant of territory. All that he asked was that the Company should pay "two elks and two black beavers, as often as We, Our Heirs and Successors shall happen to enter the said country's territories." It was to King George VI as "Heir and Successor" to Charles II that the Hudson's Bay Company made its symbolic payment in 1939.

In 1670 the new Company sent out its first expedition and a pattern of trading was set that was to last for many years. Forts which were also trading posts were built at the mouths of the rivers running into the Bay. Down these rivers came the Indians, their canoes loaded with furs, to trade for the goods brought from England by supply ships. The furs were loaded into the ships and were taken to England where twice a year they were sold by public auction or, as the advertisements of the day announced, "putt for sale by the candle." In the coffee room of one of London's fashionable Coffee Houses a clerk would light a candle exactly an inch long. Another clerk would hold up a bundle of beaver skins and the dealers would begin to call their bids. As the candle burned lower the bidding became brisker and brisker. The last man to call a bid before the candle sputtered and went out



Ine Hudson's Buy Company

AN AUCTION BY THE CANDLE

To one of London's most fashionable coffee houses, in the seventeenth century, came the city's gallants and tradesmen to bid for lots of Canadian furs which were being put to sale by the candle. Notice the great beaver hats worn by the men. It was the rage for such hats that caused beaver pelts to be imported.

obtained the beaver skins. The demand for beaver skins was great and the Governor and Company of Adventurers made enormous sums of money.

Not much of this money came the way of the two men whose explorations and discoveries had been responsible for the founding of the Company. Radisson and Groseilliers were no longer leaders of expeditions, but traders in the employ of the Company and as such paid only a salary. Annoyed by their treatment, both men left England, Radisson to go to France and Groseilliers to return to Canada

where, after some years, Radisson again joined him. For a time they traded independently into Hudson Bay but they were not successful. Later Radisson returned once more to work for the Company. His last years were spent in England, burdened with debt, quarrelling with the Company which owed him its beginning.

Life in a Company post. In time life in a post became fairly routine for the Company's employees. The post, as we have seen, was usually built at the mouth of a river. It stood in a clearing so that no enemy, whether French or Indian,

might approach it unseen. It was surrounded by a palisade and flanked by towers on which cannon were mounted. Within the fort lived the clerks and employees of the Company. Upriver there was a small shipyard where boats were repaired and small sloops built. Between the fort and the shipyard the Indians who came to trade were allowed to camp and a few who worked for the Company lived there all round the year.

In August the supply ships arrived from England. As you may imagine, excitement in the fort ran high, for the ships were the one contact with England, bringing letters and news from home. Among the letters there was always one to the governor of the fort from the Company's headquarters in London. It contained orders and instructions and fixed the standard of values for trade. All trading was done in terms of the beaver skin and other furs were counted as so many beaver. For example, one fox skin might equal four beaver skins; one bear skin, three beaver skins. Similarly, trade goods were reckoned in terms of beaver skins. Half a pound of powder might be worth one beaver skin; a red coat, six; and a mirror, eight. These values were set in London and varied with the price the furs brought at auction.

The French began to fight the Company. As we have already seen, the fur trade was the life blood of New France. It could not be expected that the French would be idle while the English, on Hudson Bay, cut more and more deeply into

their trade. There were two things that the French could do. They could send out traders to live among the Indians, to establish posts and to trade on the spot, thus saving the Indians the long trip to the posts on Hudson Bay; or they could attempt to destroy the Company's posts by military action. As we shall read, later in this chapter, the French tried to do both.

The story of the Hudson's Bay Company is a long one, extending into our own times. Since it is interwoven with the story of Canada it is not convenient to tell it all in one place. In the next chapter we shall read more of the story of the Company, of how it was forced to fight for its life with a new company, and how that fight contributed to the exploration and settlement of the west.

A dying colony. Fifty-five years after Champlain founded Quebec, the affairs of New France were in a sad condition. The Iroquois raids were killing the fur trade, terrifying the colonists and keeping away new settlers. In all New France, there were less than three thousand people. Quebec, the capital, had five hundred and fifty citizens, about the same as a small prairie town today. The great Company of New France seemed as much a failure as the smaller companies before it. Farms were few and poorly kept. There was but one horse in the whole of New France.

How different was this poor colony from Champlain's vision of a vast French empire in America. New France was slowly dying. The colonists' pleas sent to the home-

land went unanswered. It seemed that the French were quietly giving up all North America to the English without even trying to fight for it.

The Great Intendant gave new life to the colony. Just when New France seemed doomed beyond hope, the tide of fortune changed. Young Louis XIV [loo'ee] decided to take personal charge of the government and he wished to make France the greatest power in the world. As part of his plan, he decided to strengthen New France. A welltrained regiment of a thousand men was sent out to destroy the Iroquois menace. A large expedition burned several Indian villages and taught the Iroquois to fear the Great White King. For twenty years, New France was free from the peril of Indian warfare.

But the most important event for the colony was the arrival of Jean Talon [tal'on] in 1665. This hard-working, clever Frenchman was appointed by the King. Louis XIV told Talon to make New France a prosperous colony. Talon obeyed his sovereign completely. Within three years, so many new settlers had arrived that the population was doubled. Land was cleared of trees for new farms. Mills were built. Shipbuilding was begun and the new vessels started trade with the West Indies. Fishing and mining were encouraged. Talon himself set up a model farm and supplied money to build a brewery. Most important of all, the people in New France began to believe that the colony would have a bright future.

Frontenac was a fine soldier. In the year that Talon returned home from New France, the King sent Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac [fron't'nak], to be governor there.

The new governor had a fine reputation as a soldier in European wars. He was also a man of fiery temper, who loved power and all the display that he felt was due to his position. He was in financial difficulties when he arrived in Canada. It was as a soldier that he did the work in New France which made him as famous as Champlain. The Iroquois had made peace after the French expedition in 1666. But these warriors were restless, suspicious and ready to fight at the slightest excuse. Frontenac was just the man to keep them under control. He treated them fairly, but took every opportunity to give them a great display of French power.

The Fighting Governor had many faults. Frontenac's dealings with the Indians were very successful. But he had much trouble with the French officials at Quebec. His vanity, temper and desire money soon led him into a feud with Bishop Laval and Intendant Duchesneau [doo'shay noh]. Quarrels were frequent. Frontenac believed in selling brandy to the Indians. Laval, as a churchman, was opposed to this. Frontenac wanted to preside at Council meetings, so did Duchesneau. Laval accused Frontenac of making profits from the fur trade. Frontenac said the clergy pampered the Indians and neglected the French. After ten years of this squabbling,

which harmed New France and helped no one, the King dismissed both Frontenac and Duchesneau.

In the seven years following, two weak governors completely ruined Frontenac's good work with the Iroquois, who again went on the war-path. At Lachine, near Montreal, they massacred sixty-six French settlers in the worst disaster New France had ever suffered. Fortunately, Frontenac was already on his way back to become governor again. His strong hand was needed, for in 1690 the New Englanders tried to capture Quebec as their contribution to the new war between France and England in Europe. Frontenac defended his capital gallantly and successfully. In 1696, the seventy-six year old governor led an expedition which ended the Iroquois danger once and for all.

Laval laid firm foundations for the Church in Quebec. In Champlain's day, the King of France had forbidden any Protestants to go to New France. Consequently, the colony avoided religious strife which would have sapped its strength. However, the policy had a serious drawback in that it hindered the colony's growth. The English colonies in America would never have grown so rapidly but for the large numbers of Puritans who left England for reasons of religion.

Under the French policy, New France became a stronghold of the Catholic religion, as Quebec remains to this day. The man who was chiefly responsible for giving the Church its firm foundations in



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THE COUNT DE FRONTENAC Imperious and fiery-tempered, de Frontenac's strength and soldierly qualities were needed in New France.

New France was François de Laval, the first Bishop of Quebec. He was an extremely devout priest, and believed that it was a sin even to see a play in a theatre. It can easily be understood, then, how much he would disapprove of the vain, pleasure-loving Frontenac. As we have seen, the quarrel between them was very bitter and covered many points. The main arguments, however, concerned the selling of brandy to the Indians.



Public Archives of Canada

THE COUREUR DE BOIS
French in origin and Indian by choice, the
coureur-de-bois was the spearhead of the
French advance into the wilderness.

Laval was horrified at the effects of "fire-water" on the savages. They behaved like wild beasts and committed terrible crimes. Frontenac admitted the bad results, but his argument was, "If we don't sell brandy to the Indians, they will get it from the English and we'll have no fur trade." Frontenac won, but Laval continued his efforts to improve the morals of New France. He founded a seminary to train priests. Laval University, which grew out of that seminary, is a lasting memorial to his name.

The desire for furs led coureursde-bois to the heart of the continent. Despite the stern disapproval of

Bishop Laval, and in opposition to strict laws made by the King, many young Frenchmen left the settlements to engage in the fur trade. These daring and freedomloving coureurs-de-bois [koor'œr duh bwaw] (men who live in the wilderness) pushed farther and farther into the western wilderness in the search for more beaver pelts. The colonies suffered severely from this draining away of the most energetic young men. This was one of the reasons for the stagnant condition of Quebec and the other settlements, with small populations, little agriculture, and no manufacturing. In the struggle against England, the woeful weakness of the French colonies was to be a fatal defect.

On the other hand, the brave and resourceful coureurs-de-bois provided the strength which kept France in the North American struggle for over a century. Led by dauntless explorers and daring fighters, these half-savage Frenchmen gained land in the heart of the continent and held at bay English colonies twenty times as populous as New France.

The exciting life and tragic death of La Salle. Do you think it strange that a Canadian city should be named "China"? This is proof that even in Frontenac's time, men had not given up hope of finding a route to Asia across North America. The land near Montreal where the city of Lachine now stands was first granted to an ambitious young Frenchman, Robert Cavelier de la Salle. He talked so much about exploring westward to find a way

to China that his neighbours jokingly called his lands "La Chine."

La Salle could not stand a dull life of farming. He soon began his eighteen years of exploring and trading in the western wilds. In 1682, La Salle started down the Mississippi River, determined to travel to its mouth. Louis Jolliet and Father Marquette had gone part way down the river nine years before, but had turned back because they feared the Spaniards who claimed those lands. La Salle feared neither savages nor Spaniards. He and his men paddled their canoes right to the Gulf of Mexico and claimed the country for France.

For this exploit the King sent La Salle to make a new settlement. This time, everything went wrong. La Salle could not find the mouth of the Mississippi when he sailed into the Gulf of Mexico. The party lost all four of its ships. The settlers were angry and frightened. La Salle was angry himself, and treated the others badly. Finally, affairs were so desperate that La Salle decided to go overland to Quebec, but he had only begun this trip when he was assassinated by one of his own mutinous followers.

D'Iberville was a great fighter for the French. Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville [dee ber veel] was a giant of a man with a mop of blond hair like a Viking of old. He was a mighty leader of the French in their struggle with the English. Amongst his exploits were an overland trip to James Bay by snowshoe and canoe to capture Hudson's Bay Company posts in furious surprise attacks; the wrecking of English settlements in Maine and Newfoundland; the defeat of three English ships in Hudson Bay with his one ship, the *Pelican*; and the founding of the colony of Louisiana by establishing a post at the mouth of the Mississippi River. When D'Iberville was only forty-five years old he died of yellow fever in Havana while serving his King in a campaign in the West Indies.

D'Iberville and many others performed thrilling and sometimes ferocious deeds to keep the French fleur-de-lis in North America. When England and France made peace at Ryswick, Holland, in 1697, France kept Acadia and most of the Hudson's Bay Company posts. But in 1713, after another war in which France did well in America but badly in Europe, the aging Louis XIV signed the Treaty of Utrecht which gave to the English all Hudson Bay territories, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. The great exploits of D'Iberville were in vain. Slowly the British were tightening their pincer grip north and south of New France.

Henry Kelsey, the "Little Giant," sees the great buffalo plains. The British from their foothold in the north, were also expanding to the west. At Fort Nelson at the mouth of the Nelson River, the Hudson's Bay Company had a strict rule that none of their men could go into Indian country. A young boy from London had spent four years working in the fort. When he was seventeen years old, he could no longer resist the temptation to

visit the Indians. Punished for leaving the fort, Henry Kelsey ran away for a year.

Just at this time, the French under d'Iberville were threatening to take away the Indian trade from the Hudson's Bay Company. Kelsey's knowledge of the Indians and their lands was needed by the Company to establish new posts. Henry was forgiven.

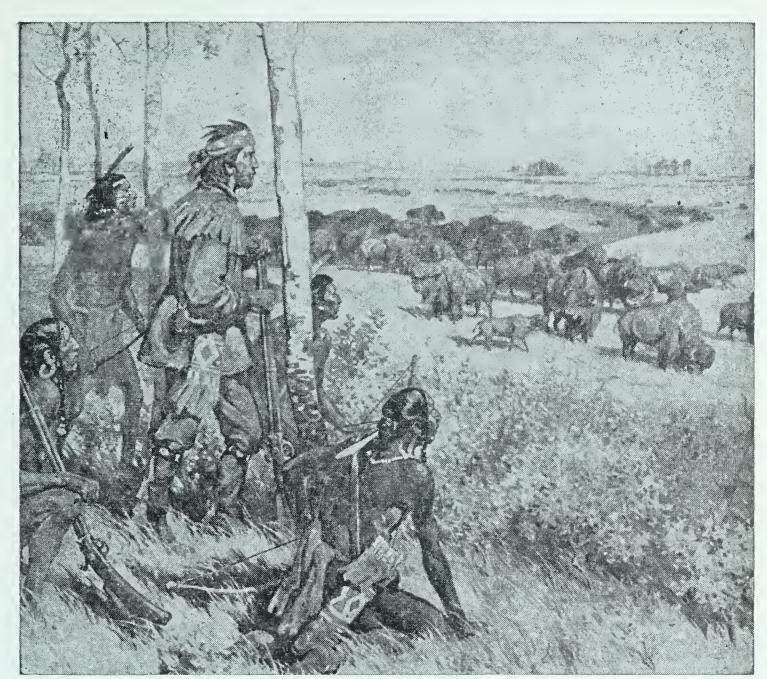
Kelsey was the first white man to visit the prairies of western Canada. He tells how "ye Indians going a hunting kill'd great store of Buffilo," for in those days the plains were dotted with huge roving herds of bison. This daring Englishman was much liked by the Indians, who called him "Little Giant" because he once killed two bears in one minute. Kelsey and others like him gave England a strong hold on the west. More and more the French were being hemmed in between the New England colonists and the Hudson's Bay traders.

La Verendrye unlocked the front door to the west. Two hundred years after Cartier had searched the Gulf of St. Lawrence for an opening to the great Western Ocean, the continent still held locked in its wilderness the mystery of the North-West Passage. Champlain and La Salle had sought it in vain. Many English sailors, whose names we can see on any map of the Arctic, had risked their lives trying to sail westward through the frozen seas. As the two colonies girded themselves for the final struggle, a great French explorer took up the search. Spurred on by Indian legends of a Great Salt Sea to the west, Pierre de la Verendrye [duh la v'rendree] and his sons pushed straight across the continent.

Over the Grand Portage west of Lake Superior, across the Lake of the Woods and Lake Winnipeg, past the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, and then across the open prairies went the La Verendryes. From 1731 to 1743, they searched for the Western Sea. Hardships were many. The Sioux Indians killed La Verendrye's son and twenty companions on what is now called Massacre Island in the Lake of the Woods. A winter trip on foot across the open prairie with no fires or shelter at night almost killed the French leader. Finally, on New Year's Day, 1743, two of La Verendrye's sons came within sight of the Rocky Moun-

Like other explorers, La Verendrye failed to find the Western Sea. But he opened up the front door of the west and claimed for France a vast fur trading country to compete with the back door held by the British at Hudson Bay.

New England challenged New France. Rarely in the century and a half after the first settlements were made in North America did the French and English colonists have real peace. It was almost impossible that they should. The mother countries were fighting for world-wide empires. The kings of France were devout Catholics and the English freemen were ardent Protestants. In America the wealth to be gained from the fur trade caused both New Englanders and



The Hudson's Bay Company

HENRY KELSEY ON THE PRAIRIES

When Henry Kelsey first arrived on the western plains, more than two hundred and fifty years ago, he described in his journal how he found there "great store of Buffilo." Today the great herds have vanished and only a few of these animals survive in zoos and national parks.

French-Americans to compete by every method at their command.

As we have seen, little New France was slowly losing out to big New England. But for quarrels amongst the English colonies, New France would probably have been swallowed up long before.

The English colonies began to show signs of co-operating in 1745. They sent an expedition to take Louisbourg, the great French fortress built on Cape Breton Island. The behaviour of the disorderly

"brave armed mob" of colonials at the siege seemed weird and wonderful to regular soldiers, but with the help of British men-of-war, the fortress was captured. New England was extremely proud of its poorly-disciplined but hard-fighting troops. Loud, then, were the complaints of the colonists when Britain traded Louisbourg back to the French for Madras in India when peace was made in 1748 (at Aix-la-Chapelle [ay la shapel], Germany).

French and English fought a duel with half the world as a prize. So keen were New France and New England to be at each other's throats that fighting broke out in the fur trade territory while the mother countries were still supposed to be at peace. In the next year, 1756, the fighting spread to Europe and Asia as the Seven Years' War began. North America, India, islands in the seven seas and even the British Isles themselves were at stake in this fight to a finish. For such a colossal prize, each side put forth supreme effort.

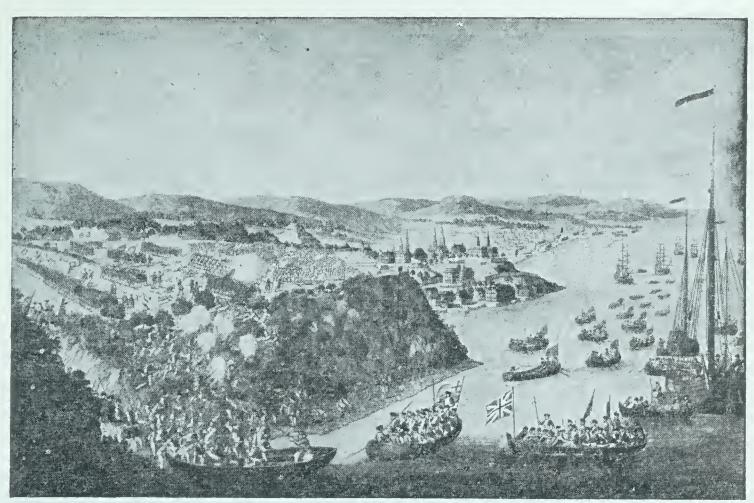
The Marquis de Montcalm led the French soldiers in America to brilliant victories in the first half of the war. Then William Pitt, one of England's greatest statesmen, took charge. He chose as leaders brilliant young men like Brigadier James Wolfe. The tide of war in America changed when Amherst and Wolfe again captured battered Louisbourg after a lively siege in 1758.

Wolfe and Montcalm finish the duel for America. French and Indians at the mouth of the Saguenay River on June 20, 1759, gazed in fear and wonder out across the blue waters of the St. Lawrence. One hundred and forty-one British ships, with white sails glistening in the sunshine were heading up the river towards Quebec. During the next six days, Admiral Saunders led his armada through the treacherous waters to the capital of New France without losing a single ship.

This great feat of navigation brought into fighting position the two great soldiers, Wolfe and Mont-calm. Quebec was a natural fort-ress, and its defences had been thoroughly prepared by Mont-calm. Wolfe looked over the situation with a sinking heart. He had to capture the French stronghold by October or sail away in failure before the river froze for the winter. Fortune seemed to favour Mont-calm.

British guns battered Quebec all summer, knocking down houses but bringing the capture of the city no nearer. British attacks on the outer defences were repulsed and many were killed. Wolfe, never very strong in body, fell ill towards the end of August. He begged the doctors to "patch him up" long enough for a final effort. Wolfe knew that the only place not well defended by the French was along the St. Lawrence just behind Quebec. Steep cliffs, three hundred feet high, seemed to make attack impossible. Montcalm had planned to protect that place, but the foolish governor, Vaudreuil, [voh'dreh' ee] cancelled the general's orders.

On a dark September night, silent British soldiers climbed the cliffs at a little cove called Anse du Foulon [ans duh fool'on]. In the morning, the astounded French saw a double line of redcoats on the Plains of Abraham, west of Quebec. Montcalm threw his soldiers into battle with all haste. The bettertrained British troops held their fire until the French were only forty paces away. Then two devastating volleys were fired point-blank into the enemy lines. Cheering English charged and the French



Public Archives of Canada

THE TAKING OF QUEBEC

An artist's view of the climbing of the heights and the battle on the Plains of Abraham.

retreated. Wolfe and Montcalm both died of wounds, but the battle had decided the fate of New France.

Other victories in Europe and on the Atlantic gave the British good reason to sing lustily a new national song, "Hearts of Oak":

Then cheer up my lads, 'tis to glory we steer,

To add something new to this wonderful vear.

The British Empire had reached the zenith of its power in the Wonderful Year of 1759. When peace came four years later, New France was dead, India was British, and Great Britain had replaced France as the most powerful nation in Europe.

Why did New France fall? You should be able to find clues to the answer to this question in the

story of Wolfe and Montcalm. The most important reason was the work of the British navy. Admiral Saunders and his sailors brought Wolfe all the guns, ammunition and supplies he needed. French ships were captured or chased away, so that Montcalm was short of men, food and most other things required for defending Quebec.

Then, you will remember that Vaudreuil cancelled Montcalm's order. The French leaders quarrelled amongst themselves. The French King had arranged this situation on purpose so that no official would become too powerful. The English under Pitt and the Parliament controlled their forces much more efficiently. Bigot [bee goh], the intendant at Quebec, was so busy trying to steal money from



A. Sherriff Scott, Public Archives of Canada

BRITISH TROOPS ENTERING MONTREAL, 1760

Compare the solidity and elegance of the houses of the seigniors and traders of Montreal with the simplicity, almost poverty, of the habitant farm pictured on page 122.

the King and the people that he had little time to keep the city well supplied for defence.

We have learned too, that the English colonies had about twenty times as many people as New France. They had many more industries and farms. The French, confining themselves to the fur trade, had not expanded in Canada as much as the British in the south.

The British tried to solve a great problem. Having won New France, what should Britain do with the French Canadians? Send them to France? Most of them did not want to leave. They were Canadians, not French. Make them adopt English laws, language and religion? It was improbable that

such a policy would be successful.

The British chose to follow a third course. They were fortunate in having two honest and kindly governors, Murray and then Carleton, who both won the confidence of the French Canadians. Mistakes were made of course. But the way in which the British tried to solve this problem was so successful that today we have a Canadian nation with citizens who work side by side in spite of differences in race, language and customs. The example of Canada was followed in South Africa with equal success. It is an example which may well help the United Nations to save a world torn apart by differences of race, language or religion. Later you will read of Canada's solution.

Chapter 3-The American Revolution Split North America in Two

The Wonderful Year was soon followed by disaster. Not since the days of the Roman Caesars had there been so vast and powerful an empire as Britain held after the Peace of Paris in 1763. The great victories on land and sea in the Seven Years' War had for the first time made London the world's chief city, as Rome had been 1500 years before. But Rome was the centre of a land empire protected by the famous legions. Britain was the centre of a maritime empire spread out over the seven seas. Britannia ruled the waves with her splendid ships and sailors. This seapower not only protected what the British had already won but gave promise of an even larger empire as new lands were discovered and opened to Europeans.

However, the sunny future which seemed to lie ahead for Britain was darkened within a dozen years by the storm clouds of war and rebellion. All was not well at the heart of the Empire. As we have seen in the story of Great Britain, Parliament was now the real ruler of England. But the new King, George III, was disgruntled about the increase in Parliament's power and the decline of the king's. He began to take part in politics himself. Unfortunately for the Empire, George III made serious blunders.

The painful truth was that Britain had won a world-wide empire but had not learned how to govern it properly.

The American colonists fought for "the rights of Englishmen." When Louisbourg was given back to France after its capture by New Englanders in 1745, many colonists protested bitterly. They said that the king and Parliament in London always made treaties and laws to help the people at home, never to help the colonists. This feeling was strengthened as the years went on.

In the story of the United States you will read of the disagreements which led to the American Revolution. Certainly, neither side was completely right. But it was unfair of Englishmen at home, whose ancestors had fought for the right to say how the tax-money should be spent, to refuse the same right to the Englishmen in the colonies.

Canada for French or English? The cry of "rights of Englishmen" was being raised in Quebec and Montreal as well as in New York and Boston. After the conquest of Canada, traders from the colonies to the south and from England had settled in the two chief Canadian cities. The newcomers had been accustomed to the use of English law and to an elected assembly. They expected these in their new home.

Governor Murray looked at the matter in a different light. The French Canadians were all Roman Catholics. At that time, English law would not allow Catholics to take part in elections. Therefore, if Canada were given an assembly, five hundred traders, greedy for



Cornelius Krieghoff, National Gallery of Canada

THE HABITANT FARM

The habitant considered himself the true Canadian. Born in Canada, with only a slight knowledge of France beyond the seas, his whole loyalty was to the land he lived in.

profits, would rule the sixty thousand French Canadians. To Murray this arrangement did not seem fair.

Murray was an aristocrat and a soldier. Like his brother-officers, he looked on these quarrelsome, democratic merchants with scorn. He had no intention of leaving the French Canadians at the mercy of a few traders. He allowed no assembly and used English law only for criminals, not for marriages, trading or land-holding.

Guy Carleton tried to please the French. With so much trouble brewing in America, Britain needed a strong man as governor of Canada. The position was given to Guy Carleton, an army officer who had served with Wolfe at Quebec.

Both the English-speaking and French-speaking people in Canada waited anxiously to see which side Carleton would take. He soon decided that very few British people would ever come to this cold country. So he favoured the French even more than Murray had done.

Religion and language were not the only differences between French and English. New France had brought from Old France the feudal system of land-holding. A large piece of land was granted to some army officer, government official or rich merchant. He became a seignior [seen'yohr] and allowed farmers called habitants [ab ee'tan] to use pieces of his land in return for taxes and work. On the other hand, the English freehold system allowed a farmer to own his land and do with it what he wished.

The Church in New France had

a system of tithes. The word "tithe" means a "tenth." At first, the people had given one-tenth of their wheat to the Church but in time this was changed to one twenty-sixth, although still called a tithe.

Carleton tried to find out what the French Canadians wanted, but he talked most to the people whom he saw most, the seigniors and clergy. The seigniors told him, of course, that the people liked the seigniorial system. The clergy said that everyone wished to continue the system of tithes. These statements were not true. During the war and the years of confusion after it, the habitants had been free of many of the payments and duties to seigniors and clergy.

Carleton, aware of the danger of armed rebellion in the colonies to the south, planned to keep Canada loyal to the Crown. He persuaded the British Parliament to pass the Quebec Act in 1774. Under its terms there would be no assembly; English law would be used for criminals but French law for everything else. Seigniorial and tithing systems would be continued. Traders cursed, seigniors and clergy applauded, habitants grumbled and American colonists raged about this pampering of undemocratic French Catholics. The colonists were particularly angry that Canada was to have no assembly.

Carleton saved Canada. Though his efforts in governing the colony were not entirely successful, Carleton was at his best when a desperate situation called for a brave, energetic soldier. All his talent was needed in the last months of 1775. The American colonists had rebelled against king and Parliament. Believing the French Canadians would welcome the chance to join the rebellion against the British conquerors of Canada, the Americans immediately sent armies to capture Montreal and Quebec.

Carleton went to Montreal but found that the people there would not fight the Americans. He set out for Quebec by ship. Enemy guns blocked the passage at a narrow part of the St. Lawrence. His capture seemed certain. On a dark November night, the governor put on habitant's clothing and boarded a whaleboat. Bouchette, a French Canadian known as "Wild Pigeon" because he could pilot boats so swiftly down the river, was in charge. The rowers pulled cautiously at their muffled oars. In dead silence, the boat glided past the American guns. When Carleton arrived at Quebec, the garrison worked with new hope to put the defences in good shape.

The American attack on Quebec was beaten off. When British ships arrived the next spring, Carleton defeated and pursued the rebels until not an acre of Canadian soil was in enemy hands. Canada had been saved mainly through the courage and energy of Sir Guy Carleton.

The French Canadians did not join the rebellion. American leaders were astounded that the French Canadians would not take up arms against Britain. On the other hand, Carleton called the habitants "the most ungratefullest wretches" because they would not fight against the invaders.

Seigniors and clergy naturally favoured Britain. The Quebec Act gave them all that they desired—certainly more than the anti-Catholic Americans would have allowed. These Canadian leaders used their great influence to keep the ordinary folk from rebelling. The habitant saw no good reason for fighting on either side. He understood none of the Americans' talk of democracy and "rights of Englishmen." He did not feel he owed much to the king who had made him pay again the tithes and seigniorial dues.

The tolerance and kindness of Murray and Carleton, then, at least prevented an open revolt among the Canadians when Britain was in danger of losing all North America. The beginning of British rule in Canada was by no means perfect, but it laid the foundation for French Canadian co-operation in the building of a new nation.

Nova Scotia chose the Union Jack, not the Stars and Stripes. Many Nova Scotia settlers had come from New England. They had many of the same complaints against king and Parliament as the American colonists. But when the American colonies raised a new flag of independence, the fourteenth star, for Nova Scotia, was missing.

If we look at the map of Canada and remember the power of the British navy, we shall understand clearly one reason for this. The rebelling colonies had almost no navy. Even a revolutionary settler could see that the maritime colony had not a ghost of a chance against

the sea-power of England. Besides, the merchants in Halifax prospered greatly when the British war-fleets came to port.

Thus, New Scotland (Nova Scotia) parted company with its fellow-colony, New England.

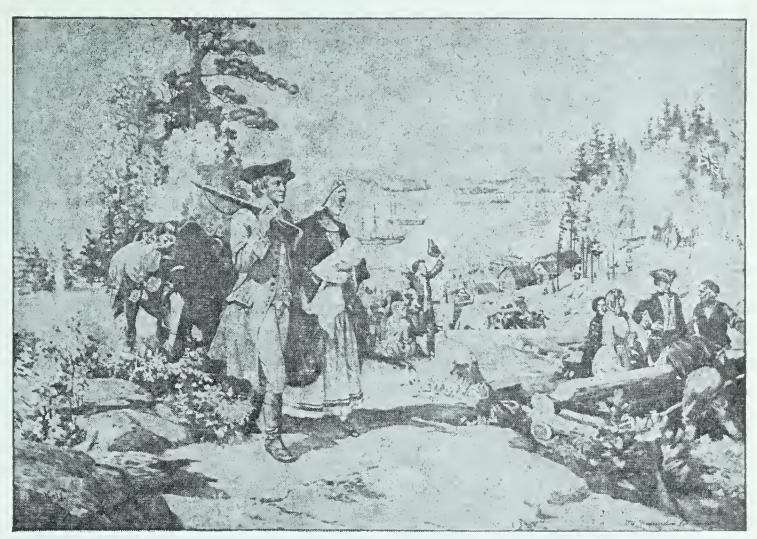
American colonists loyal to the king had a difficult time. Most of the people in the Thirteen Colonies along the Atlantic coast were opposed to the actions of the British government in its dealings with the colonies. But not all were in favour of rebellion. Benjamin Franklin told British statesmen shortly before the Revolution that he had never heard "from any person, drunk or sober" any arguments for breaking away from the Empire.

This feeling changed quickly when the King and Parliament began to use the British army and navy against colonists. But even at the height of the Revolution, about one-third of the people in the Thirteen Colonies remained loyal to the King.

As soon as guns and swords took the place of words and petitions, those for and against the King became extremely bitter towards each other. Loyalists called the rebels "despicable traitors." A Revolutionary verse-writer spoke thus of the Loyalists:

So vile a crew the world ne'er saw before, And grant, ye pitying heavens, it may no more!

In each city or town where one party had a majority, the people on the other side had a rough time of it. People were tarred and feathered, "ridden on a rail" or even hanged. Homes were wrecked



J. D. Kelly, Confederation Life Association

THE COMING OF THE LOYALISTS

The artist has pictured here the landing of the first party of United Empire Loyalists at the present site of the city of Saint John, New Brunswick.

and burned, property stolen. The Loyalists, being fewer in number, got much the worst of it.

The United Empire Loyalists came to the northern wilderness. When the United States won independence from Great Britain in 1783, the Loyalists were in a pitiful state. The British government gained for them very little protection in the treaty ending the war. The Americans did not live up to the few promises they did make. Loyalists were beaten, driven from their homes, deprived of all rights. Even the great George Washington had no pity for them, saying he "could see nothing better for them than to commit suicide"!

The Loyalists, however, could see something better for them-

selves. Many returned to England. About 35,000 went to Nova Scotia and about 10,000 to Canada.

New Brunswick, a province of Loyalists. At the time of the American Revolution, the name Nova Scotia was used for all the lands which today make up the three Maritime Provinces. This large territory, very sparsely settled, attracted great numbers of the Loyalists. Groups of newcomers went to Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, Halifax, Annapolis and the south shore of the present Nova Scotia, but the largest number, about 10,000, settled along the St. John River. Over 8,000 persons arrived there between spring and autumn of 1783. The British government was trying to do everything possible for the set-

tlers, to make up for the harsh treatment they had suffered in the United States. But those in charge were completely swamped by such crowds arriving within a months. Delays in surveying the lands held up settlement. The government had not sent nearly enough building material, tools or food. Many Loyalists had to spend the winter in tents banked up with snow, and some of the women and children died from the cold and hunger.

These hardships caused bad blood between the Loyalists at St. John and the governor at Halifax. Complaints to England brought prompt action and in 1784, New Brunswick was set up as a separate province. The Loyalist invasion was already changing the face of

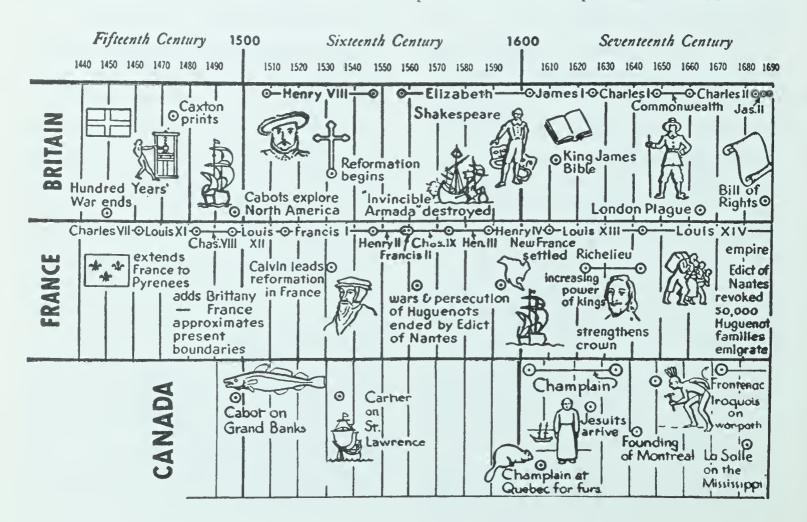
British North America.

Loyalists split the province of Quebec. Guy Carleton thought the Quebec Act had settled Britain's

Canadian problem for good. A dozen years later, Carleton (now Lord Dorchester) returned as Governor-General to find that the arrival of the Loyalists had created new problems.

The newcomers were used to elected assemblies and English law. They had fought and suffered for their king. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick already had elected assemblies. But by the terms of the Quebec Act there was to be French law (except for criminal cases), and no assembly. Here was a new problem even harder than the problem that the Quebec Act had been designed to solve.

Along the St. Lawrence between Quebec and Montreal lived the 70,000 French Canadians. About 10,000 Loyalists were given lands along the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Kingston, on the north shore of Lake Ontario and the Niagara peninsula. The province of Quebec



was, therefore, no longer all French. Indeed, it soon became clear that a time might come when English Canadians would outnumber the French in Canada.

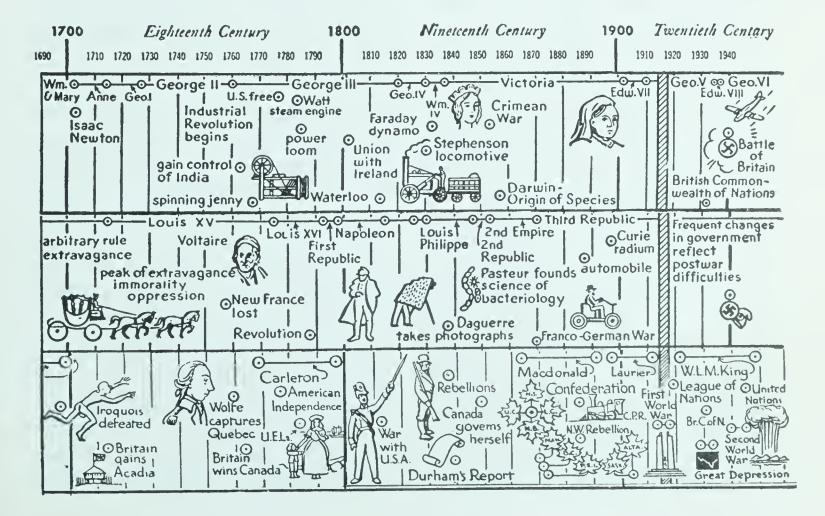
Parliament in London tried to solve the new problem by the Constitutional Act of 1791. The province of Quebec was split into two provinces—Lower Canada for the French and Upper Canada for the English-speaking settlers. Elected assemblies and the right to decide their own laws were granted to each province.

The American Revolution gave Canada a second cornerstone. The United States, which in time was to become the world's richest and most powerful nation, was born at the time of the American Revolution. The same great event caused the birth of the nation now called Canada. Before the Revolution, Carleton had firmly believed that "barring catastrophe shocking to

think of, this country must, to the end of time, be peopled by the Canadian race." By Canadian Carleton meant French Canadian.

The arrival of the Loyalists changed the whole picture. After 1783, the British colonies in North America had two cornerstones—the Canadien habitant and the Loyalist pioneer. Splitting the old province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada was the first answer to the problem. As we will learn, it was not an entirely satisfactory answer. Indeed, to this day, Canada has still not solved the problem completely.

The search for the Western Sea ends at last. While the great dramas of the American Revolution and the Loyalist migration were being played in the eastern half of the continent, the old search for the Western Sea was still going on. We have seen that Cartier, Champlain, La Salle, La Verendrye all had



pushed on valiantly, ever westward, hoping to reach the Pacific. As always, the westward search was linked with the fur trade.

A new company is formed to trade into the west. When France handed over all her possessions in Canada to Britain, the string of trading posts which had been built into the west by La Verendrye and his sons, as well as other traders, also became British. The officials of the Hudson's Bay Company must have sighed with relief when the keen competition of the French traders was removed. They probably believed that the good old days had returned, when they enjoyed a monopoly of trade. But new troubles and even more keen competition was awaiting the Company as it entered the second hundred years of its history.

In 1774 the Hudson's Bay Company sent Samuel Hearne, who had only recently returned from an exploring trip into the Arctic Circle, to establish an inland post. In August, Hearne wrote in his journal, "This day we passed by one of the Peddlar's houses, and though nobody is in it, it is where Lewis Primeau and 17 others wintered last year and, by the Indians' account, as soon as the ice permitted this spring, they embarked with all their goods and proceeded to intercept the Athapasco Indians on their way to Prince of Wales Fort. One Forbisher was master." Hearne had got the name wrong. The man's name was Frobisher and it spelled trouble for Hearne's employers.

Hardly had Britain taken over

Canada when a whole group of independent traders swarmed into the colony, eager to make fortunes in the profitable fur trade. Some of these were Americans from the colonies to the south; more were ambitious Scotsmen from the Highlands and Islands, whom the poverty of their country had driven to seek their fortunes in the new colony. These men, contemptuously called Canadian Pedlars by the Hudson's Bay Company officers, had the dash, the vigour, and the imagination that the men the conservative Company lacked. They were not content to sit in forts at the mouths of rivers waiting for the furs to come to them. As the French had done, they went out into Indian territory and traded with the tribes on their own grounds. They took over French posts and they employed the French voyageurs, boatmen, hunters, and traders who had worked for the French companies and who knew the pathways to the west and the best means of dealing with the Indians. Their headquarters were in Montreal, and since they had no need to wait for instructions from London, as the Hudson's Bay Company's traders had to do, they could easily offer better trade than their rivals. Soon they were trading far into the west beyond the trails that the La Verendryes had travelled.

At first their activities did not seriously interfere with those of the Hudson's Bay Company. All of the west part of the North American continent was British and the Pedlars might range where

¹ The spelling is Samuel Hearne's own.

they pleased. But when the British lost the thirteen colonies and with them the southern half of the continent, the independent traders were forced to confine their ventures to Canadian territory, and inevitably these ventures brought them into conflict with the Company.

In the beginning, the Pedlars traded independently of each other, but from time to time partnerships of three or four of them were formed which lasted only as long as they were profitable to all the partners. But the competition of so many independent traders and the high cost of operating soon convinced them that it would be wiser to co-operate and so make greater profits. In 1784 a number of the most successful traders, whose headquarters were in Montreal, banded together to form the North West Company.

The rivalry of the Companies ends the search for the Western Sea. It was still the policy of the new Company to send its traders out into the wilderness there to establish posts among the Indians. This policy led to the exploration and discovery of new territory, and brought the traders at last to the shores of the Western Sea. It was, as we know, the dream of finding this sea that had inspired men like Cartier, Champlain, La Salle, La Verendrye, and others.

Among the most courageous of the explorer-traders in the service of the North West Company was Alexander Mackenzie. He had already made one daring voyage to the Frozen Ocean, or the Arctic Ocean, along the river which now bears his name.

Mackenzie was not satisfied, however, by this success. He was determined to reach the Pacific. In 1792 he began his great trip with nine companions. Up the Peace River and its tributaries he went into the mountains until he could cross the height of land to a river flowing westward. Down turbulent mountain streams Mackenzie paddled until finally he saw the great Pacific Ocean. Triumphantly, he painted on a big stone: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, 1793."

The centuries - old search had ended. But the path was too long and difficult to use as a route to Asia. Faster and better ships were trading with the Far East by way of Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope. So the dreams of Cartier and Champlain about an easy route across Canada were not to come true until steam was harnessed to trains and ships.

The old Company fights back. There was only one thing for the Hudson's Bay Company to do if it wished to survive and that was to copy the tactics of its competitor. So, as we have already seen, Samuel Hearne was sent to open an inland post, and others were speedily built. A new policy allowed traders to share in the profits and generous bonuses were handed out to employees whenever a post showed a profit. Moreover the Hudson's Bay Company had one great advantage over its competitors. It was able to deliver its supplies of trade



THE PATH OF THE TRADERS

Early in the seventeenth century one of the Jesuits wrote home to France about the plentiful supply of rivers and lakes in the new land. Explorers and fur traders alike were quick to take advantage of these pathways which would enable them to penetrate the interior more easily. The map above shows the network of rivers, portages, and lakes, by which the traders could travel from Montreal to the Pacific coast.

goods cheaply by the water route to its forts on the Bay, right in the heart of the country. The North West Company, on the other hand, had to ship its goods to Montreal and then transport them over the difficult, dangerous, and expensive land and water route to the posts in the west.

The path of the traders. The North West Company did its best by organizing a wonderful canoe freight system. Special canoes were built, thirty-two feet in length. The trade goods were packed in bales each weighing ninety pounds, for ease in carrying over the portages. There was a waterproof chest in each canoe, for weapons, and the trade

goods were covered with oil cloth. Each canoe could carry more than four tons of goods.

Early in May the canoes were assembled at Lachine, near Montreal. It must have been a gay scene. The voyageurs, mostly French Canadians, wore blanket coats, with brightly coloured sashes, shirts and toques, and mocassins embroidered with beads. When all preparations had been made the brigade moved up the river to Saint Anne de Bellevue, for the good Saint Anne protects travellers and the devout voyageurs must say prayers at her shrine, for a safe return. Then the gay holiday garments were put off, the working



A. Sherriff Scott, Hudson's Bay Company

GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON ON HIS TRAVELS

It was part of the policy of the Hudson's Bay Company that their officials should travel the west in great splendour. The active and energetic governor, George Simpson, shown here being greeted by James Douglas at Fort St. James in British Columbia, made the most of this policy. Notice his own fine clothes and the piper in the foreground.

clothes donned, and the long hard journey to the west began in earnest.

Their route at the start was the old trail that Samuel de Champlain had first followed. They paddled up the St. Lawrence to its junction with the Ottawa, then up the Ottawa and its tributary the Mattawa. Here canoes and goods were carried over the height of land and the canoes launched again on Lake

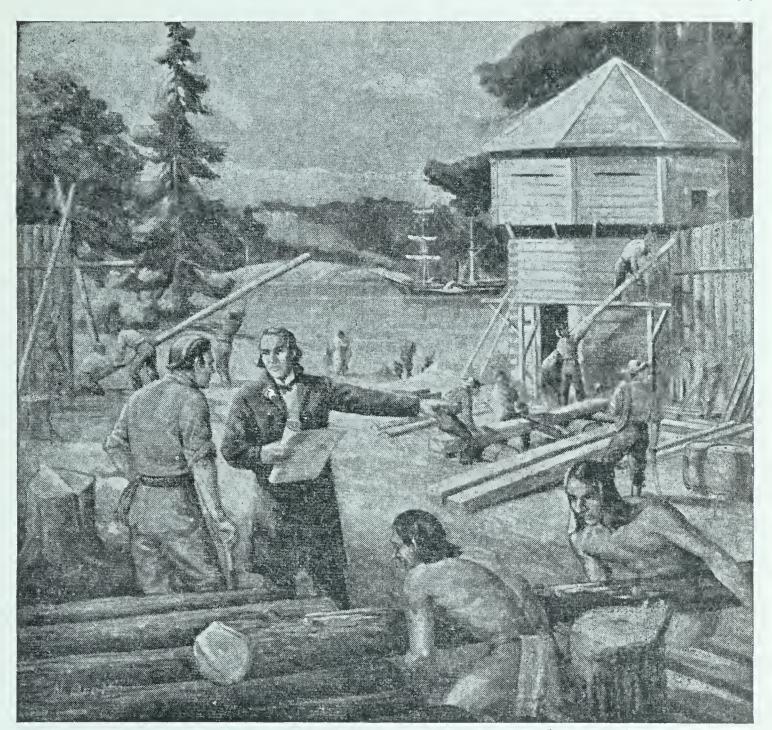
Nipissing from where a continuous water route led into Lake Huron and on into Lake Superior.

About forty miles beyond the modern city of Fort William was a spot known as Grand Portage, which was the beginning of a ninemile carry overland to the chain of rivers and lakes that led into the west. Here the canoes were unloaded and the goods carried to the height of land. In the meantime,

down the waterways from the west came a fleet of smaller canoes loaded with furs. These canoes were unloaded at the western end of the Grand Portage and the furs carried also to the height of land. The two cargoes were exchanged, and after an appropriate time spent in rest, exchanging news, and feasting, the two brigades separated, the east-bound canoes now carrying the furs to the seaboard, while the trade goods travelled west to the posts in the small canoes.

Year after year the rivalry between the two companies grew more ficrce. The North West Company pushed more and more posts into the west and the Hudson's Bay Company also continued to build new forts. Often the posts of the two companies were within gunshot of each other, and more than once shots were exchanged and blood was shed. We shall read, in Chapter Six, of one occasion when the rivalry of two posts led to the massacre by half-breeds of a number of settlers of the Red River Colony. The Hudson's Bay traders, who now shared in the profits of the trade, were more keen and aggressive than they had been, and a new leader, George Simpson, filled them with some of his own fire and ambition. For years the bitterest warfare was waged between the two companies. Then peace came in the only way possible, short of ruin for both. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company bought out its rival and merged the two companies into one.

The beginning of British Columbia. One of the first tasks of George Simpson, the governor of the new company, was to close down some of the posts, which were duplicated, and transfer the men who had operated them to new posts. Following in the path of Alexander Mackenzie, the North West Company had planted posts on the Pacific Coast, but these were at such a great distance from the east that they had never paid. Now Dr. John McLoughlin, who had been a North West Company trader, was sent from Fort William to take over the posts on the Pacific for the Hudson's Bay Company. McLoughlin took with him a young man named James Douglas. The chief post in the west was Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River in what is now the state of Washington. It was not quite clear at that time whether this territory belonged to Britain or the United States but when it seemed likely that all land south of the 49th parallel of latitude would become American territory, Dr. McLoughlin sent James Douglas north to build Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island. The fort, at first called Camosun, was re-named after the new young queen. In 1846 the western headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company was moved to the new post. Three years later, in order to prevent the Americans from moving in and taking over, Vancouver Island was made into a colony. McLoughlin crown mained in the United States and became a citizen of that country. In his place James Douglas became western head of the Hudson's Bay Company.



A. Sherriff Scott, Hudson's Bay Company

THE FOUNDING OF VICTORIA

Young James Douglas had an eye for beauty, as well as a shrewd knowledge of what made a good location for a post, when he chose the site of the fort at Camosun. Later renamed Victoria, it became the capital of British Columbia, and one of the loveliest of Canadian cities.

The little colony on the Pacific Coast was a peaceful one until the day in 1858 when gold was discovered on the Fraser River. Immediately there began a rush of miners and prospectors, mostly from the United States, towards the diggings on the mainland. The majority of these passed through Victoria. They besieged the Hudson's Bay post seeking supplies for their journey into the mountains. They

were a wild lot and they were moving into a territory where there was no government, and which was inhabited only by Indians and a few trappers and traders. James Douglas immediately proclaimed that this was British territory and that British law and order must be observed. Soon the British government organized the mainland into a separate colony and appointed Douglas governor of the territory.

When he assumed this office Douglas resigned from the Hudson's Bay Company. Seven years later the two colonies were united.

The gold rush was soon over. Not all of the miners left the colony to follow other finds, however. Many remained to settle there and to become the true founders of the province of British Columbia.

Napoleon, furs and "war-hawks." Loyalists and Americans had parted with bitter words and hard feelings. Each side considered the other to be guilty of treason.

As we shall read in the story of the United States, rugged American frontiersmen were rapidly pushing into the territories south and west of Lake Michigan and turning the wilderness into farmlands. This angered the Indians who resented the loss of their furtrapping lands. They began to attack the settlers, who suspected Canadian fur traders of supplying guns to the Indians. The western settlers were soon clamouring for an attack on Canada.

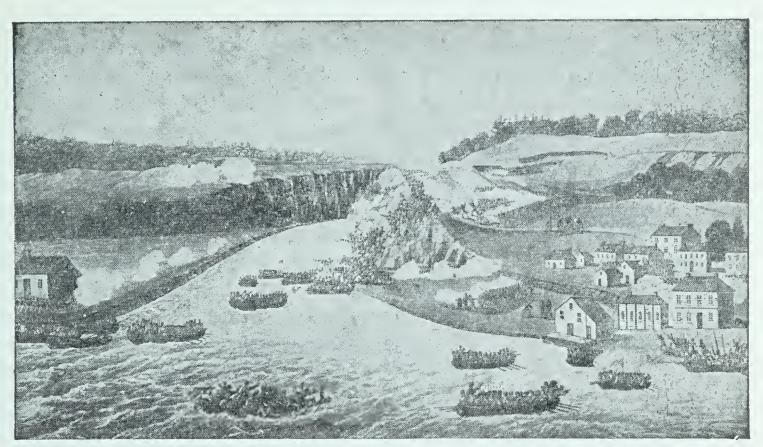
Many other Americans wanted to bring the whole continent under the Stars and Stripes, and believed the time was ripe for the capture of the remaining British colonies. Indeed, the year 1812 did seem to give the United States a golden opportunity to conquer Canada. Britain was fighting a life-anddeath struggle against Napoleon. The Royal Navy controlled the Atlantic but the British army was so busy in Europe that only 5,000 soldiers were stationed in the British North American colonies. The United States at the time had

about seven million people, while the British colonies to the north had only half a million.

Napoleon supplied the final reason for the war. He had tried to keep the non-fighting nations from trading with Britain by declaring that he would capture any merchant ships sailing to British ports. The British replied that they would prevent any neutral nation from sending ships to France. Both sides then seized American vessels. But the British had a much bigger navv and took so many American ships that there was bitter resentment in America. The Royal Navy also insisted on boarding United States ships to take back deserters. Sometimes captains seized American sailors as well as English ones.

1812—the war of many mistakes. Goaded on by the western "war-hawks," the American government finally declared war. The states in the north-east along the Atlantic were opposed to fighting, because they prospered from sea-trading. With the powerful Royal Navy right at their front door, these states would go hungry from lack of trade.

The Americans had poorly-trained armies and generals. However, it was not expected that much fighting would be necessary. The good, inexpensive lands in Upper Canada had acted like a magnet, drawing a continual stream of American settlers after the Revolution. These newcomers soon outnumbered Loyalists and British immigrants combined. The Americans thought the conquest of Up-



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THE BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS

The War of 1812 was a sorry quarrel between members of the same family. Its one result was to decide that Canada should remain with the family of British nations.

per Canada would be just a tri-

umphal march.

General Hull made the first mistake. He started to invade Canada from Detroit, but soon retreated when he found Sir Isaac Brock, Governor of Upper Canada, facing him with about a thousand soldiers and Indians. Brock and the famous Indian chief, Tecumseh, promptly crossed the river to Detroit. American soldiers, who had expected welcoming cheers from friendly settlers, heard the wild war-whoops of the Indians. Hull and his army surrendered. Lovalists and some luke-warm British supporters were much encouraged. Those sympathetic to the United States left Canada. The Americans' first mistake had made the British colonies stronger.

Many more mistakes were made during the war. Troops from New

York said that they had agreed to serve only in their own country, so they stayed on the east bank of the Niagara River while other Americans were being defeated at Queenston on the west bank. When the British finally defeated Napoleon in 1814, a large army was sent out but was defeated at New Orleans.

Brock, Laura Secord and de Salaberry—Canadian heroes. After capturing Hull at Detroit, Sir Isaac Brock hurried to the Niagara peninsula. At Queenston, he was killed while leading his men in a gallant charge up the Heights held by the enemy, but in less than four months this British officer had rallied the Canadians and had shown them that the Americans could be held at bay.

In June, 1813, Laura Secord heard American soldiers in Queenston talking of an attack soon to be made on the British post at Beaver Dam. Her Loyalist husband was still disabled from wounds received at Queenston Heights, so this brave woman struggled through twenty miles of wild forest to warn Lieutenant FitzGibbon. The American attackers were surrounded and captured.

Colonel Charles de Salaberry was in command of a force which included French Canadians by Chateauguay River south of Montreal late in October 1813. An American army of some five thousand troops, which was more than four times larger than de Salaberry's force was advancing into Canada. The French Canadians fought bravely and drove back the invaders.

A new meaning for Canadian resulted from the War. To be called a Canadian in the 18th century meant that you were French. With the coming of the Loyalists and other settlers to Upper Canada, there was a change in the meaning of the name which is ours today.

After the War of 1812, the people living on these lands, which Indians have called Canada, began to have a new feeling of comradeship. They had stood up to a nation whose population was fifteen times larger than that of their own country; French and English Canadians had fought bravely side by side in defence of their homes.

Many arguments arose later between the two races in Canada, but this early baptism-in-battle, side by side, reminded later generations that although they had two races, two languages and two faiths, they

had but one country. Despite quarrels, the two peoples have worked together to build the nation we know today as Canada. From coast to coast, citizens of our Dominion now bear proudly the name Canadian.

A wave of immigration brought thousands of new settlers to Upper Canada. In the years that followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, thousands of new settlers made their way to Canada from the British Isles. Many of these were soldiers discharged from the armies; others were poor men and women of the labouring classes who were being assisted to Canada by charitable organizations in the hope that they might find happier lives there. A third group consisted of young men of well-to-do families whose fortunes had been diminished by the economic depression which followed the close of the Napoleonic wars, and who chose to try their hand at farming in Canada rather than to follow, for long and unremunerative periods, the professions for which they had been trained.

Among this last group was a young man named John Langton who settled in Upper Canada about 1833. Langton was destined to play an important, if minor, rôle in the history of Canada. He was, in turn, pioneer, farmer, member of the first municipal government in his district, businessman, and captain of militia. Later he became a member of the Parliament of United Canada. His grasp of financial details brought him to the attention of John A. Macdonald

who appointed him Auditor-General of Public Accounts, a post which he continued to occupy after Confederation. As Vice-Chancellor of the young University of Toronto, Langton played a prominent part in the planning, organization, and actual building of the institution, today one of the largest in the Commonwealth.

But for the purpose of this story the importance of John Langton lies in the fact that he and all his family were copious letter-writers. From the time of his first visit to Canada, letters travelled back to England describing his experiences and giving his impressions of the country and its inhabitants. Later, when the other members of his family joined him, the practice was continued for the benefit of a brother who had remained in England. From the letters and journals of the Langton family it is possible for the reader today to gain an excellent and accurate idea of the life and problems of the settlers who came to Canada in the early years of the nineteenth cen-

John Langton had been in Canada for some years when it was first suggested that his family, consisting of father, mother, sister and elderly aunt, should join him. The young man was careful not to encourage his parents unduly in their plan to emigrate. Their age, he felt, and the ease and comfort in which they had lived for so long in England, would hardly fit them for life in the rugged new settlement. "Those who have not seen the hurry and confusion of a first year

in a new settlement, with twenty things to be done at once, and neither hands nor time to do one effectually, cannot, of course, exactly comprehend the state of affairs." Thus he wrote to his father in 1834 and went on to list the inconveniences which the elder Langton must expect to endure if he persisted in his plan to come to Canada. First there was the lack of society; there were no men of Langton's age with whom he might associate, and nothing of a literary and scientific nature. Canada was very much a young man's country and the young men were too busy just keeping alive and clearing their farms to have any time left over for the pursuit of cultural matters. Then there was the weather, the hot summers when the thermometer registered 95° in the shade, and the cold winters when temperatures of -17° were not uncommon. Third, there was the matter of eating. There was plenty to eat but there was a monotony in the diet, and his father at certain periods must expect to live almost entirely on salt pork. To his mother he pointed out that the lack of servants would be a great inconvenience and that the ladies must be prepared to undertake for themselves the tasks of housekeeping, cooking, laundering, clothes-mending, gardening, and chicken-raising.

An Atlantic crossing in the 1800's. The elder Langtons were not too discouraged by their son's account of life in Upper Canada and in May 1837 they embarked on the American packet ship *Independence* bound for Canada via New

York. In one of his letters to his mother, John had used the ominous words, "If you could overcome the voyage out." Events were to prove that he might have done well to emphasize the hazards of the Atlantic crossing. In a letter begun shortly after the party embarked, the father remarks that the ladies have taken to their beds already though the sea is reasonably calm. He was to repent his patronizing words almost immediately, for the letter was interrupted, not to be resumed for ten days, a period during which the oldest sailor (meaning himself) was as deathly ill as the greenest boy making his first voyage. What the ladies must have suffered is hard to imagine, for the accommodation was not of the best. Writing to her brother in England, Anne Langton advised him that if ever he crossed the Atlantic he should bring a small mattress with him "for the aching of the bones when obliged to toss upon a hard uneven surface for some days is no trifling inconvenience." It might be well, also, to bring some rags with which to clean out the wash hand basins "for one is apt to look upon one's wash hand basin with perpetual distrust." The ship's library was not all it might be, consisting of odd volumes with most of the pages torn out. What she found most trying, however, was the crowded condition of the ship. "A person should have health and spirits to stand the noise, the confusion, and the merriment. Go where you will, there is no quiet except on a day like this, when the wildest appear subdued." The food

was not of the best: "and when your appetite is most delicate a great, big, fat slice may be sent to you." Even when it was possible to be up and about there was little comfort, for the majority of the chairs had no backs "and a rest for the head is often indispensable on board a ship." Altogether, the passage from Liverpool to New York lasted twenty-two days.

Poor immigrants fared even worse. It is most important to note that the family whose voyage is here described was well-to-do and travelling in some luxury on "a packet ship of repute." The conditions under which poor immigrants travelled are almost indescribable. Ship owners contracted to transport them at so much per head; it was therefore to their advantage to pack as many as possible aboard each ship. Men, women, and children were crowded together into one big room called the steerage. Long rows of bunks ran down each side of the steerage. Emigrants, of course, were supposed to supply their own mattresses and blankets. They ate their meals in the same quarters where they slept. A fire burned at each end of the steerage and both were continually covered with the cooking utensils of the passengers. The food was atrocious, the meat maggoty, the bread sour, and the water stale. Little provision was made for personal cleanliness or sanitation. Drinking and gambling went on at all hours of the day and night and some of the emigrants were not above stealing the few belongings of their fellows.

During stormy weather the holds



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IRISH EMIGRANTS READY TO SAIL FOR AMERICA

In the eighteen-thirty's thousands of people left Ireland for North America. A correspondent for the *Illustrated London News* estimated that at the peak 5,000 left the country weekly. "In England," he wrote, "you can have but little conception of the sufferings of the poor Irish emigrant."

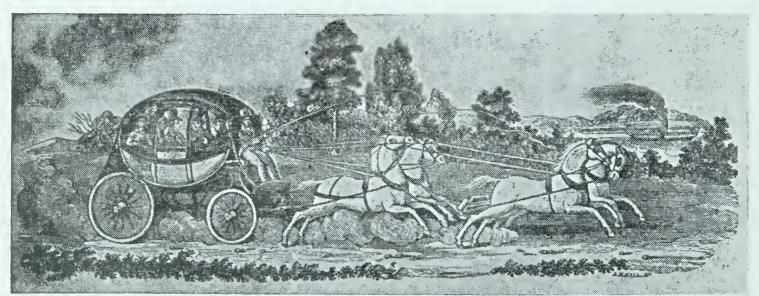
were battened down and when these were opened again the stench which arose from the steerage was unbearable. Overcrowding and lack of sanitation made ship's fever a common occurrence and when it broke out it ran almost unchecked among the passengers. Sometimes the dreaded cholera struck an emigrant ship. Many of the emigrants died at sea and were buried immediately with only a very brief and hurried service. Still others survived to reach Grosse Isle in the St. Lawrence where the "seeming well" were landed and allowed to proceed on their journey, while the sick were accommodated in hospitals, which were often merely sheds, with few doctors, fewer nurses, and little in the way of beds, bedding, or medical supplies. Too often the "seeming well" sickened before reaching Montreal and carried the plague with them into the settlements.

Overland travel was almost as difficult. Once the voyage out had been accomplished and dry land had been reached there still remained the difficult business of getting to the settlement in which the new settler planned to make his home. Railroads were still in their infancy and highways were bad. Travel by river and lake still remained the easiest means of reaching a destination in the interior. Just how easy it was the journey of the Langton family will illustrate.

The journey from New York to their new home, about a hundred miles north-east of Toronto in what is now the province of Ontario, lasted a month and fourteen days. The distance they travelled may be traversed today by plane or train in a few hours and by automobile in two easy days' driving. They were transported in steamers, a canal boat, a sailboat, and a rowboat. They also travelled in two trains, one of which was powered by steam, the other drawn by horses. They thought the first a very dangerous means of travel, because of the sparks from the engine. "Poor Anne!" wrote Mrs. Langton, "From her gingham never having been washed, I suppose it was more tinderish than my sister's and mine. It was sadly burned; at times with all our care it was in a flame, and the damage almost precludes repairing."

In Canada where there was, at that time, only one short railroad track, they were transported by steamers, in a stage coach, and on horseback. The roads were so poorly defined that the party on horse-back got lost. "The stage," wrote Mrs. Langton, "is a kind of waggon with two seats slung across, the back bound with buffalo-skin—and over good roads would not be an unpleasant carriage. Some part of the road was good, other parts very shaking and uneasy, but no corduroy." Corduroy was the name given to roads made of logs which ran across swampy land. Such roads were serviceable but rough.

The homes to which the new settlers came were primitive. And what of the new home to which all this hard travelling had brought them? They had been amply warned that they must not expect too much, and all of them were prepared to accept what they found without complaining. But a certain apprehension keeps breaking through their optimism. "All certainly looked wild," wrote Mrs. Langton, "but his little cottage was made comfortable for our reception and promises snugness, but with primitive



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A CANADIAN STAGE COACH

The illustration above was taken from a poster advertising a stage coach service, and so it is possible that the artist let his imagination triumph in executing his drawing. If travellers' diaries are to be believed, in Canada in the 1830's the stage coaches were not so luxurious, the horses so lovely, nor the roads so good.

simplicity." Later she adds, "If God in his mercy grants us health we may be happy, free from many cares in this quiet retreat, and may profit by it, waiting the next change with humble hopes of its being a blessed one." Others of the family were more outspoken. The daughter, Anne, found the forest almost interminable, adding, "I almost sickened of the forest." She also spoke of the snugness of John's cabin and of the furniture which John had been able to borrow from other settlers to increase the comfort of his family. It was somewhat crowded, one member of the family having to sling a hammock in the living room in order to have a place to sleep; and, added Anne, "I suspect we shall have to summon the plasterer to stop up sundry chinks here which let in daylight now, and would admit quite too much of the wintry blasts." From her brother's description of his land she had formed a fairly accurate impression of her new home but everything, buildings, gardens, fences, and especially roads were much rougher and more primitive than she expected. Nor had she expected the great quantities of wood which lay about everywhere on the ground, and which were so difficult to dispose of except when a good burning was possible. The stumps, too, bothered her. They gave the place a "rubbishy appearance" and the spreading roots prevented anything like passable pathways from being possible. Stones were abundant and made gardening difficult; so did the weeds which were more plentiful than the plants.

Even in summer the forest was wet and unpleasant to walk in.

Help was difficult to get and more difficult to keep. Supplies presented another problem. Some of these were shipped from England and a humorous letter from John Langton to his brother gives some tips on packing so that the jam would not get mixed up with the newspapers and the sago with the glass. Others came from Peterborough. Whenever a settler went to that town he was sure to be overwhelmed with requests and errands. "One wants a pound of tea," wrote John Langton, "another two yards of flannel, a third a pair of shoes, with some incomprehensible peculiarity about the instep. The tea is not to be of the same kind as one of the two dozen different parcels that I brought out five months ago. I am to get a reduction on the flannel, because the calico I bought last spring was of bad quality." Sometimes this method of obtaining supplies brought odd results. "What should you think?" asks Anne, "of a few pounds of tea coming at the bottom of a sack (without paper) and a few rusty nails at the other end of it?"

It was a hard life but it had its compensations. One was the genuine friendliness and co-operation among the settlers. When the Langtons arrived at their new home the young men in the neighbourhood contributed what luxuries they had to help make John's parents more comfortable. In their turn, after they had moved into their own home, the Langtons were never

surprised when a boat load of young men suddenly descended upon them expecting to find a meal and lodging for the night. The sick and the injured made their way to the Langton house, for Mrs. Langton was known to have a liking for doctoring and a supply of drugs. If a settler were killed in the forest or drowned in the lake, his wife and his children could depend on the neighbours raising a subscription of food and (though this was scarcer) money, for them. Bees for the purpose of raising barns or houses were so numerous that in the end they became a nuisance. One quickly became adapted to the changed conditions. "After fastening your window with a string around a nail, or shading it with a boat flag for a month, you are very apt to forget that there is any other sort of hasp or blind," wrote Anne Langton. All in all, she concluded, "This certainly is a country where the virtue of patience will not languish for want of exercise." But, she went on, "when one looks at the wild woods around, and thinks that from such a wilderness the present state of things has been brought out by a few hands, and how much there is for those few hands to be constantly doing, one's surprise vanishes and one rather wonders that so much has been done, than that so much remains to be done."

The first settlers overcame their difficulties and built prosperous communities. Those early settlers were much too busy to have any spare time in which to feel sorry for themselves. They built stout houses,

many of which still stand to this day. The men felled trees, burned the trunks, cleared the land between the stumps, planted crops, harvested, felled more trees, cleared more land, and made their way through the forest and across lakes on their errands to the closest settlement for supplies. The women kept house, cured meats, made candles, cooked, made and mended clothes, raised chickens, milked cows, and gardened in the small patches cleared for them. They taught the children their letters, nursed their sick, cared for their poor, and buried their dead. time a sawmill was set up in the district, then a store. Later a small church was built and a minister brought in. When there were enough settlers, municipal government was organized. A school was built, existing trails were improved and new ones made. Today the district which Anne Langton described as impenetrable forest which almost sickened her is a land of rich farms and prosperous towns. Great highways run over the path of the trails the settlers cut so painfully through the forest and huge pylons carry electricity to the farms where the women once laboriously dipped candles. The toil, the discomforts, and the hardships of those first settlers have brought a rich reward to the country to which they came to make their homes over a century ago.

There were other difficulties of a political nature to discourage the settlers. It was not only the forest, the weather, the long distances, and the bad roads that placed obstacles

in the path of the settlers. In a letter written in 1833 to a friend in England John Langton had said that a man who came to Canada to settle on a farm should have a fair amount of money to see him through the several years and the serious expenses before his farm would be under proper cultivation and producing adequate returns. In Toronto in 1837, Thomas Langton found that the government was unwilling to make available cheap land to charitable organizations which were attempting to settle poor labourers from England in new homes in Canada, and to provide for them until they were able to support themselves. At the

same time the government was selling large tracts of land at very low prices to people who had no intention of settling, but who planned to resell the lands at a good profit. Langton hinted that a little bribery in the proper official quarters could always get things done. Surveyors were paid in land grants; consequently the best lands fell into their hands and again were held for speculation. These were not healthy conditions and progress in settlement could not be made until they were mended. In the next chapter we shall see how dissatisfaction with conditions brought violence and rebellion and, later, improvement of these conditions.

Chapter 4—Canadian Colonists Fought for Their Rights and Laid the Foundation of the British Commonwealth

The tragic case of Robert Gourlay, "the Banished Briton." In the story of the British we have seen that British law has long been famous for its fairness. But December 21, 1818, was a black day for British justice in Niagara, in Upper Canada. It was a black day for Robert Gourlay as well.

Everything was wrong in this case. Gourlay was a Scot who should never have been arrested. He was accused of sedition (trying to persuade people to rebel against the government), but he had been acquitted twice in regular courts. The two judges were not really judges at all; they were officials of the government. They charged him with breaking a law

which applied only to persons who had been in the province less than six months. Gourlay had been in Upper Canada for eighteen months.

The judges brought in Isaac Swayzie as a witness. This mean, dishonest fellow was an elected member of the Assembly of Upper Canada, though he could not even read or write. He swore on oath that Gourlay had been in the province less than six months and had talked in a seditious way. The verdict was guilty. Gourlay was ordered to leave the province within ten days or suffer death.

This outrageous injustice made Gourlay angry. He refused to leave. After ten days he was taken before the Chief Justice of Upper Canada at York (now Toronto). Ample evidence proved Gourlay to be completely innocent. The Chief Justice, however, was on the government side. He refused to free the prisoner.

For eight months, Gourlay was kept in the dirty, dark jail at Niagara. When finally brought to trial, the prisoner was sick in body and mind. The trial was a farce. The Chief Justice was against Gourlay. The jury was unfriendly to him. The best lawyer in the province was trying to prove him guilty.

The judge asked the prisoner to speak in his own defence. Gourlay had a long written statement in his pocket, but his mind was so disturbed that he forgot where he had put his papers. Instead of speaking, he laughed wildly like a lunatic.

As before, Gourlay was found guilty. He was ordered to leave the province within twenty-four hours or suffer death.

We can understand how bitter this British subject was as he went to the United States. "I thanked God," he said, "as I set my first foot on the American shore, that I trod on a land of freedom." In Boston, he wrote his story with the title, "The Banished Briton."

Many years later, the Canadian Parliament declared that Gourlay had been wronged. When he returned to Canada as an old man of seventy-eight he was granted a pension of £50, but was too proud to accept it.

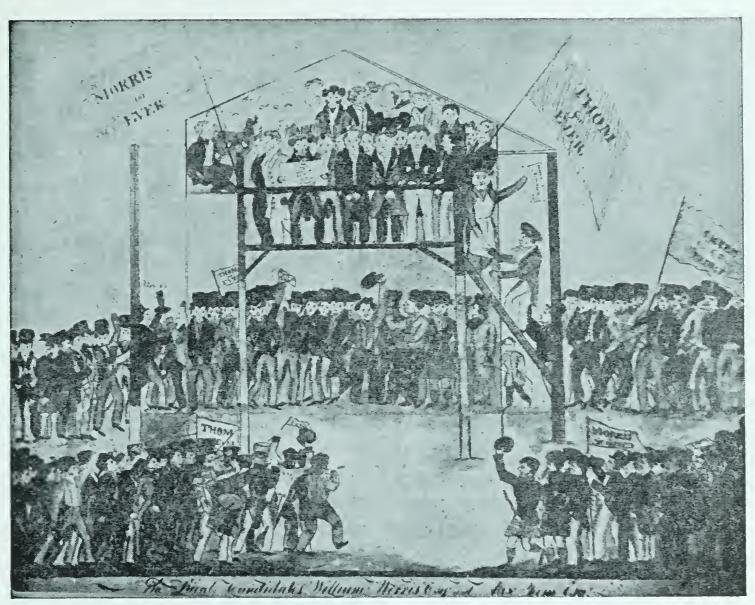
Many of the colonists in Upper Canada were unhappy. You may well wonder what Gourlay had done to deserve such treatment. His activities in Upper Canada were quite straightforward. In 1817, he came from Great Britain and went into business as a land-agent. To gather information, he sent a questionnaire asking about conditions in the province. Reply after reply told him that the greatest barrier to progress was vacant land.

One-seventh of each township's land was set aside for the Crown, one-seventh for the Church. Other large areas had been sold to government officials and their friends, who hoped to make much money when land prices rose. Thus by 1817, there were few settlers and much vacant land in each township. Wolves from the uncleared sections killed the farmers' animals. The settlers were so scattered that it was difficult for them to pay for the building of roads, schools, and churches.

Gourlay called a conference at York in 1818. Delegates from all parts of Upper Canada came to the conference and sent a petition to the King asking that the vacant lands be opened for settlement.

A few of the colonists were happy. The Family Compact was the name given to the small group of men who controlled the government and who drove Gourlay from the province. All the members of the Compact were not related, but they formed a closely organized little group, which for many years ruled Upper Canada.

These people were largely from United Empire Loyalist families. They had taken leading roles in the



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THE RIVAL CANDIDATES

In the early days in Canada it was the custom for rival candidates to appear on the same platform. The right of free expression is a prized democratic possession.

War of 1812. They were not bad men; but they had once had the ordered system of their lives destroyed by revolution and they had seen their new country invaded by soldiers of that revolution. They hated anything that even seemed to indicate revolutionary ideas and opposed these ideas wherever they were found. In this they were aided by the system of government set up in 1791. Under this system, an Assembly was elected in each of the provinces. But the members of these Assemblies did not have the right to make laws. They might wish to make a certain law, but they were only allowed to pass on

recommendations to the real rulers of the country, the lieutenant-governor and his two councils. The lieutenant-governor, who was sent out from Britain, chose the members of the two councils, Legislative (for making laws) and Executive (for doing the government business). These councillors usually held their positions for life and could block any new laws that the elected Assembly wished to make. The majority of the people were against the Family Compact which opposed the wishes of the people as expressed by the Assembly. The Family Compact governed for its own group, allotting crown lands

and positions of power to its own members.

There were other grievances. The Anglican Church, to which most of the Family Compact belonged, claimed all the lands set aside for the Church. Presbyterians, Methodists and others said that the lands should be shared. The Family Compact group included many city and town merchants whose prices were altogether too high according to the farmers' ideas.

With all these causes for disagreement, it is not surprising that Upper Canada was a hot-bed of strife. The few in the Family Compact struggled to hold their position in Upper Canada. The many were determined to gain equal opportunity for all citizens.

William Lyon Mackenzie, editor of the Colonial Advocate. Less than a year after Gourlay had been driven from Upper Canada, another Scot who was to cause a stir arrived from the old land. The newcomer, William Lyon Mackenzie, was a small man who had great energy, much determination, a skilful pen and a violent temper.

After four years in the province, Mackenzie, like Gourlay, observed that the evils in government were holding back Upper Canada, while the states in the republic to the south were making progress by leaps and bounds. He sold his successful drug business and started a newspaper called the Colonial Advocate.

From the first issue, he criticized the Family Compact. In the twentieth century, every government in Canada expects to be criticized by some newspapers. But the leaders of the Family Compact were fearful of more uprisings like the American and French Revolutions. Every critic of the government was regarded as an enemy and a traitor to the king.

The charge of disloyalty Britain was immediately hurled at Mackenzie. He hotly denied it. But when the Advocate was less than four months old, an incident revealed the government's attitude. While the foundation of Sir Isaac Brock's monument was being built at Queenston Heights, somebody put inside it a bottle full of coins and newspapers, including one copy of the Colonial Advocate. When the leaders of the Family Compact learned of this, they had the foundation torn up to remove the one "obnoxious paper."

Family Compact versus Mackenzie. The editor of the Colonial Advocate rapidly gained much public support by his writings about the vacant lands, the lack of schools and other grievances. His feud with the Family Compact became more and more bitter. On June 8, 1826, a mob of young men, including sons of Family Compact leaders, completely wrecked Mackenzie's printing shop and threw some of the type into Lake Ontario.

This lawlessness was far from a disaster, for the Advocate had been in financial difficulties. But the people of York blamed the Family Compact for the attack and made a hero of the editor. When he sued the leaders of the mob, the jury awarded him £625 damages—more than his press had been worth!

Mackenzie and many other Reformers were elected to the Assembly in 1828. For two years, the Reformers carried on their fight with the governing body. In the next election the Family Compact supporters won a victory. Mackenzie was re-elected though most of his friends were defeated. The fiery editor continued his criticisms. For this he was expelled from the Assembly. The people of York reelected him. He was again expelled. Five times between 1831 and 1834 Mackenzie was expelled. The people of York re-elected him after each expulsion.

The French Canadian soon learned to use the ballot. It did not take the people of Lower Canada very long to realize that the Assembly given to them in 1791 was a potent weapon. As the British Parliament had given French Catholics the right to be elected, the habitants naturally filled the Assembly with their representatives.

However, in Lower Canada, the English merchants still held the real power. English governors chose their Councils largely from the Protestant traders of Montreal and Quebec. These energetic businessmen wished to push ahead with great plans to improve the province -new roads, new industries, new immigrants. The French Canadians were satisfied with the old way of living and disliked the merchants.

Soon the battle lines were drawn for the political struggle. The French could not get all they wanted because governor and councillors often rejected laws



J. W. L. Forster, Public Archives of Canada WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

Editor of the Colonial Advocate, he used his skilful pen in the cause of Reform.

passed by the Assembly. But the governor and his party could not get their way because the Assembly controlled the province's pursestrings.

Papineau roused the French of Lower Canada. Never has French Canada produced a more brilliant orator than Louis Joseph Papineau [pa pee'noh]. This fiery patriot was the leader of the French for almost twenty-five years. When he saw that the governing party stubbornly refused to give full power to the French in Lower Canada, he lost the faith he had previously had in the British system of government. His passionate speeches against the ruling body were like salt rubbed in old French Canadian wounds. During the 1830's, the people of Lower Canada rose to a



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Louis Joseph Papineau

A Speaker of the Assembly in Lower Canada, Papineau's brilliant eloquence was turned against the governor and the Executive Council.

fever pitch of fury against what Papineau called "the savage beast ready to bite and tear its prey."

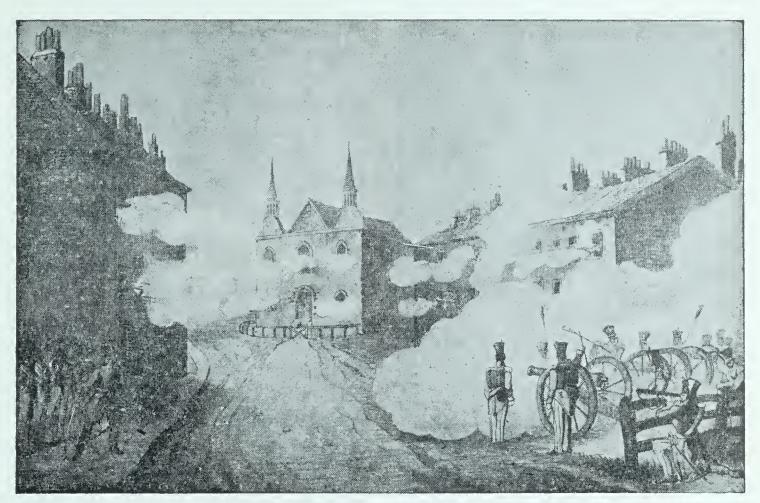
The British government disregarded the storm signals. Mackenzie in Upper Canada was raging against Sir Francis Bond Head. This foolish despotic governor dismissed the Assembly before its term was over. During the election of 1837, he actually aided the Family Compact candidates and accused all opponents of being traitors. His agents frightened and bribed voters. In short, Sir Francis acted as no governor should act, but he helped the Family Compact to win a victory at the polls. Mackenzie became convinced that reform was impossible without an armed rebellion.

Papineau in Lower Canada led the Assembly in refusing to vote money to pay the expenses of government. Not a penny would the governor receive, said Papineau, until the Assembly was given control over the Executive Council and the governor.

The British Parliament operated on just such a system itself, as do all British countries today. But, could a governor appointed by a Parliament in London and receiving orders from it, take orders also from an Assembly in Quebec or York? Which would he obey if he received opposite orders? The Parliament in London felt that the governors in the colonies must obey orders from England.

As the Assembly of Lower Canada refused to vote money for the government, the British Parliament in 1837 gave the governor permission to spend the money anyway. Such an action was against all British custom, as the French well knew. Ill feeling spread amongst the people of Lower Canada. As in Upper Canada, some men began to believe that guns might succeed where words had failed. In 1837 rebellions broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada.

As military operations the revolts verged on the comical. In Upper Canada, rebels and militia met, exchanged a few volleys, and the rebellion was over. In Lower Canada the fighting was more severe. But only four men were killed on both sides in Upper Canada, and just over two hundred in Lower Canada.



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THE BATTLE OF ST. EUSTACHE

The insurgents had occupied the church at St. Eustache and had to be forced from it by artillery fire.

The truth is that the leaders were mistaken in thinking that masses of the Canadian people were ready to rise in arms against Britain. Many of the staunchest supporters of Mackenzie and Papineau in the struggle for the people's rights immediately left them when these leaders spoke of rebellion. In Upper Canada, great loyalty to Britain and the Crown made most citizens oppose the resort to arms. In Lower Canada, the Catholic Church put its tremendous influence solidly against revolution.

But for all that, we cannot say that the rebellions failed. In England, the people were aghast at the news of armed revolt in the colonies, especially as young Victoria had just been crowned Queen. The Canadas at once received great

attention. Demands were made for an investigation into these rebellions.

Lord Durham came to find the cause of the troubles. The British Parliament acted quickly to find the cause and remedy for these colonial troubles. The leading men in England had paid very little heed to the complaints from the Canadas during the 1830's, even when Mackenzie and Papineau had gone to London to argue the case for the people's rights.

Soon after the ice was out of the St. Lawrence in the spring of the year following the rebellion, the Earl of Durham arrived at Quebec as the new Governor-General. Durham was proud, arrogant, and quick-tempered. But he also had many qualities which made him a



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LORD DURHAM

His Report belongs among the great documents of the British Commonwealth.

good man for the job that he had to do. His fairness, energy and keen powers of observation soon convinced the Canadians that Durham would do his best for the unhappy colonies.

For five months, Durham and his staff worked hard to find out all they could about the Canadas. Then his lenient treatment of rebels gave political enemies at home the chance to force his resignation. He sailed before the ice covered the St. Lawrence again, but in one summer he had learned much about Canada and its people.

Durham's Report pleased Upper Canada. The British House of Commons in 1839 received Lord Durham's "Report on the Affairs of British North America." In the story of the British you have read

about such famous documents as Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights. The Durham Report has a place with these great charters, for it set Britain and her colonies on the road towards the British Commonwealth of Nations, of which Canada is a leading member today.

Durham had acted as a good doctor for Upper Canada. During his brief visit, he had put his finger on the province's pulse, recognized the disease and prescribed a remedy to make the people happier.

The disease was a poor system of government. The rash of complaints, law-suits, feuds and rebellion were symptoms of this disease. The government was used by the men of the Family Compact to keep themselves wealthy and powerful. The people's representatives in the Assembly had little real power.

Durham's remedy was simple. In local matters such as roads and education, the governor would accept advice from an Executive Council which was supported by the Assembly. In matters such as war and trade with other countries, the governor would take orders from the British Parliament.

Thus the immediate problem, the provision of such things as roads, schools, and churches, demanded by the Reformers, was solved at least partly.

The Report did not please Lower Canada. If Durham had recommended only the increase in the Assembly's power, the habitants of Lower Canada would have been

quite satisfied, because they could control the Assembly by their votes. But the Report contained other ideas which displeased the French Canadians.

Lord Durham had said something like this: "The habitants are ignorant and backward; they have kept their own language and customs too long; now it is time to make them into proper British citizens." In forming such an opinion, Durham seemed to be leaping to conclusions without learning enough about the habitants. No real attempt was made, however, to force the French to change their customs, for it might only have ended in more rebellions and final disaster.

However, to carry out this idea, Durham recommended that Upper and Lower Canada be united into one province. Each section would have the same number of members in the Assembly, though Lower Canada had many more people. As the merchants in Montreal could elect a few members, the Englishspeaking people would therefore control the Assembly.

The French Canadians opposed the union but they had no chance to vote as their Assembly had been dismissed at the time of the Rebellion. Upper Canada accepted the plan. In 1841 "Upper" and "Lower" were cancelled and one province called "Canada" came into being.

Baldwin and Lafontaine stuck to their guns. In the first election for the Assembly of the new province, the Reformers had the majority of members. This group was led by English-speaking Robert Baldwin

and French-speaking Louis Lafontaine. These men believed that Lord Sydenham, the new governor, would choose all his councillors from the Reform party, since it was the largest in the Assembly. Durham's Report had recommended such a system. Britain herself had such a system. But Sydenham chose for this council some men opposed to Baldwin. The Reform leaders therefore refused to be on the council.

Sir Charles Bagot, the next governor, agreed with Durham's Report and with Baldwin. As the Reform party had more members in the Assembly than any other, Bagot called upon Baldwin and Lafontaine to form the government. They did so. At last, the ideas of Mackenzie and Papineau seemed to be bearing fruit. The colonies had a government supported by the majority of the people.

Victory for such an idea was not yet complete however. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who followed Bagot as governor, acted as governors had before the Rebellions of '37. He appointed an official without asking the advice of his council. Baldwin and Lafontaine resigned in protest. The see-saw struggle for government by the people obviously had not ended.

Joseph Howe, the champion of the people's rights in Nova Scotia. Unusual excitement gripped the city of Halifax one day in 1835. This capital city of Nova Scotia had up to this time led quite a tranquil existence. But young Joseph Howe had really set the town agog!



Public Archives of Canada

Joseph Howe

Though he led the fight in Nova Scotia for the right of the people to govern themselves, at no time did he urge recourse to arms.

Crowds buzzing with lively talk gathered at the court-house. Howe, the editor of the *Nova Scotian*, had published an article accusing the magistrates, who governed the city, of stealing public money. The magistrates sued Howe for libel. Lawyers refused to defend the young editor, saying he was sure to lose.

The thirty-year-old journalist rose in the crowded courtroom. For six and a quarter hours, he spoke to the jury with wonderful eloquence and crushing arguments. When the jury foreman announced the verdict, not guilty, the great crowd burst into cheers. Howe was the hero of the hour.

Taking the lead in Nova Scotia, Howe fought for the right of the people to govern themselves, as Mackenzie and Papineau were doing in the Canadas. But Howe never took up arms. By using his brilliant mind, eloquent tongue and powerful pen in the fight for freedom of the press and government by the people, Joseph Howe was able to obtain for his province the benefits he demanded.

The British change their minds. The year 1846 saw a great change in government in Britain. The Tories were defeated and the Whig party took office. This was important for the colonies in America, because the Whigs were more willing to give the colonists freedom to run their own affairs. Many Englishmen of this party thought that the granting of full responsible government to Canada would not necessarily result in Canada breaking away from the Empire.

Lord Elgin, a son-in-law of Lord Durham, was sent out as Governor-General. He was in sympathy with the Durham Report and therefore was opposed to the high-handed way in which Metcalfe had acted towards Baldwin and Lafontaine.

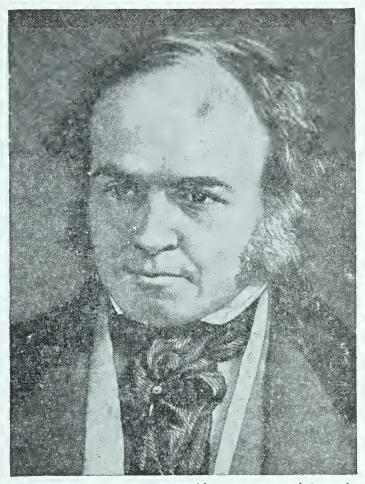
Soon after Elgin reached Canada in 1847, the Reform party gained a great victory in the elections. The Executive Council appointed by Metcalfe resigned. Baldwin and Lafontaine once again became the heads of the government.

Lord Elgin made a great decision and caused a riot. It was an echo from the Rebellions of '37 which finally proved in dramatic fashion that the people of British North America were masters in their own home.

Many houses had been burned during the Rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada. In Upper Canada the innocent owners had received compensation for their losses, shortly after peace was restored. In Lower Canada, however, the problem was a thorny one. If a person, whose home was burned, had been sympathetic to the rebels but had not actually taken up arms, should he receive money to rebuild his house? The French Canadians said yes. merchants in Montreal opposed bitterly the movement to compensate for their losses people whom they considered traitors.

Nevertheless, in 1849 at Montreal, the Assembly passed a Rebellion Losses Bill by a large majority. The English Canadian group tried every possible method to persuade Elgin to send the Bill to England for the Queen's decision instead of signing it himself. The governor decided that it would be cowardly to do so. He did not like the Bill very much, but he felt that he must sign it since the Assembly had passed it. On the afternoon of April 25, Lord Elgin went to the Parliament House and agreed to the Bill, thus making it law.

As Elgin left the House, he was struck in the face by a rotten egg as an angry mob pelted him. The merchant party, in a fury of hate, had already prepared for a riot. That evening, a mob burned down the Assembly buildings. French and English fought in the streets. Rioters almost wrecked Elgin's carriage a few days later.



Public Archives of Canada

LORD ELGIN

A son-in-law of Durham and in sympathy with the Report, it was Elgin's signing of the Rebellion Losses Bill which made responsible government a reality.

The colonists won the long fight. The traders' party in Montreal was revealing by these riots how angry it was to be deprived of power. These few thousand men, who for many years had ruled hundreds of thousands of habitants, had always accused any opponents of disloyalty to Britain and the Queen. Yet, when the people finally won the power of self-government, these "loyalists" burned the Parliament buildings and assaulted the Queen's representative. Some of them even went so far as to sign a manifesto declaring that Canada should join the United States.

Lord Elgin's great decision had put the final seal on the people's right to govern themselves. But responsible government, as it was called, had really been won in the early months of 1848. Both in Canada and Nova Scotia, the governors had chosen their advisors from the party supported by the

majority of the people.

The fight had been long and bitter. Gourlay, Mackenzie, Papineau and Howe had successfully stormed the citadels of the privileged groups. With government by the people firmly established, Canadians and Maritimers could turn to great schemes for conquering the geography of their difficult territories.

The beginning of the "British Commonwealth" idea. Joseph Howe made a splendid speech in the Nova Scotia Assembly on February 4th, 1837. He realized that the principles of responsible government for which he was fighting would affect the whole British Empire. With a prophetic eye to the future, he declared: "When applied to Nova Scotia alone, these principles may appear of little importance, yet when my eye ranges over our vast colonial possessions embracing many millions of people more than the British islands to which they belong, when I reflect that upon a right understanding of these principles depends the security of these millions of human beings, my mind warms with the subject and expands with the magnitude of the theme."

These principles were established firmly in British North America by the efforts of men like Howe and Durham. People of Britain who later journeyed to homes across the seven seas found that they enjoyed there the same rights of freedom, justice and democratic government which they had possessed in Britain itself.

Durham's Report, as we have seen, did not give Canada complete control of her own affairs. Many years were to pass before the Parliament at London gave up all claims to make decisions for the colonies. But Durham had pointed the way. Well might he say on his death-bed: "Canada will one day

do justice to my memory."

The Commonwealth has been a great success. The events in British North America in the second quarter of the 19th century were not played on a local stage only. They are an important part of world history. Never before has a great empire split up, by mutual agreement and not by bloodshed, into a group of equal, co-operating nations bound together by friendship and common loyalty to a king. As we shall see this final act was not completed until 1931, but it was the natural ending of the political drama begun in Canada and Nova Scotia almost a century earlier.

Great Britain and her colonies had produced a new idea in government. The British Commonwealth of Nations might yet set a model for world union.

Chapter 5-Confederation Was a Wonderful Achievement

British North America in 1850. Rebellion, riots, and political strife had kept British North America in almost continual turmoil for a quarter-century until responsible government was finally won in 1849. But while these dramatic events were happening in the capitals of the colonies, much solid progress was being made in the backwoods sections.

English, Scottish and Irish immigrants, as we have already read, continued to come out from Great Britain in steady streams. During the 1820's, there were less than a million people in all British North America. By 1850, the population was close to two and a half million.

Events in the outside world caused trouble for the colonists. It might have been expected that the people of British North America would settle down to a peaceful period after all the troubles of the 1830's and '40's. But they could not ignore the outside world any more than Canada can ignore other nations today. Events happening in Europe and the United States always have an influence on our country. Bound to Britain by ties of trade and tradition, and bound to the United States by ties of geography, Canada could not shut herself off from the world even if she wished it. So the great events in England and America in the 1840's and '50's changed the lives of colonists in British North America.

When Britain changed from an agricultural to a manufacturing country, the British decided that they should no longer make special efforts to trade with their colonies, but should buy goods from the country which could provide them most cheaply. Therefore, the colonists could not sell so much to Britain. Merchants and farmers from Nova Scotia to Upper Canada, with their market in Britain lost, were faced with ruin.

People from Europe were pouring into the United States in great numbers. The west was rapidly being opened up. New states were being formed, and each section of the country wanted national laws favourable to itself. You will read of these political struggles in the story of the United States. British North America soon had cause to worry about these troubles of its big neighbour to the south.

Geography prevented union of the colonies. Every few years in the first half of the 19th century, it would be suggested in Canada or the Maritimes that the colonies should unite. But few took the idea seriously. Geography was against union.

You will remember that the provinces on the Atlantic coast are cut off from the St. Lawrence Lowlands by the Appalachian Mountains. The invention of the steamship had helped to bring Halifax and Montreal closer together, but during the winter the



A. Sherriff Scott, The Royal Bank of Canada

THE FIRST RAILROAD TRAIN IN CANADA

The Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad ran from Laprairie to St. Johns, Quebec, a distance of fourteen and a half miles. A notable gathering embarked on the first run which took place on the 21st of July, 1836.

frozen St. Lawrence barred all ship-travel. Even within the provinces, river-rapids and wild forests made journeys difficult and dangerous in summertime. The common saying was, "He who has been once to church and twice to mill is a traveller." In 1800, the voyage from Quebec to Toronto took from twelve to seventeen days, depending on the winds. By 1850, steamships had cut the travelling time to three days. But each colony was cut off from its neighbours during the frozen five months of the year.

Railways pushed back the horizons. A Liverpool merchant in 1829 said that if a railway locomotive ever went ten miles an hour, he would

eat a stewed engine wheel for breakfast! But in 1837, even the remote colony of Canada had a small steam railway. By 1850, sixty-six miles of track had been laid. Then this marvellous invention caught the imagination of the people in British North America, as it had done in England and the United States. Within ten years, the miles of track were increased from sixty-six to two thousand and sixty-five.

The locomotive had conquered geography. Journeys in winter could be made in less time than the fastest summer steamships. No railway had been built between the Maritimes and Canada by 1860,

but with enough money, the job could be done. Union of the provinces was no longer an idle dream. The snorting, smoking locomotive was uglier than the fabled Magic Carpet, but it could work wonders just as great.

The North-West was in the news. If you look on a globe or a world map, you will realize how vast is the region now divided into Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Northern Ontario and the North-West Territories. In the 1850's, this whole section of the continent was called simply the North-West. It is three times as large as all the British colonies from Upper Canada to Nova Scotia, and twenty times as large as the British Isles.

Birch-bark canoes and clumsy carts drawn by oxen or horses were the only means of carrying the furs and supplies of the traders who for long years had the North-West to themselves. True, the tiny Red River Settlement, where Winnipeg now stands, did grow grain for its own use. But the value of the far-reaching fertile plains was ignored, because food grown there could not be carried to the people who needed it.

Then the steam railway changed the whole picture. Quickly, the Americans built lines to their western lands to carry supplies and settlers out, and food products back. The North-West, which had been governed for almost two centuries by the Hudson's Bay Company, suddenly had new value. Colonists in British North Americans might move up from the south and

cut off the eastern colonies from the tiny British settlements on Vancouver Island. If the North-West was to be saved for Canada, something must be done fast. But no one of the colonies of British North America had the strength or the resources to take over the west.

The Americans were fighting among themselves. After the splurge of railway-building between 1850 and 1860, the scattered colonies in British North America halted for a breathing spell. The great cost of railways was making the people realize that their united strength would be needed to build a railroad to join the colonies, not to mention the grandiose scheme of a line to the Pacific coast.

At this time (1861), the growing-pains of the young United States resulted in Civil War. The northern states fought the southern states, as you will read in the story of the United States. Such an upheaval in the United States could not fail to affect the small British neighbours to the north. For a time war between England and the northern states seemed likely, with Canada as the battleground. This emergency made the colonists aware of their weakness. With no common policy, and no railway to carry troops and supplies, the settlements might easily have been gobbled up one at a time by the northern states.

Danger did not cease with the end of the Civil War. Some Americans still thought that the United States should take over the British colonies, or, at the least, the empty British North-West.

Merchants and farmers were worried. When the British decided to have free-trade in 1846, they dealt a severe blow to the colonies in North America. No longer could the merchants and farmers in Canada and the Maritimes be sure of selling their goods in England. If a foreign trader could bring wheat or timber to London for sale at a lower price than the Montreal businessman, then the Montrealer was unable to sell his goods.

For several years, as a result of this, the colonies had hard times. Then Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, performed a great service for the British North Americans by arranging the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854.

Reciprocity meant that the colonists could send most of their goods across the border without paying a heavy tax (called a customs duty) to the United States government, and Americans could send their goods to British North America in the same way.

The province of Canada gained much because of Reciprocity; the Maritimes did not fare so well. But all in all, the 1850's were years of prosperity. The Civil War in the United States gave colonial merchants and farmers good business for a while, but the victorious northern states, hostile to England, ended the Reciprocity Treaty near the close of the War. Merchants and farmers in British North America looked anxiously for new markets. The idea of union of the colonies came to mind. With a railway to join them, could not the provinces trade more with each other?

"Rep-by-Pop" caused a great argument. The peoples of Upper and Lower Canada had been uneasy partners since the union of 1841 of which you have read. Lord Durham had been wrong in thinking the habitants could be made into Englishmen. Racial dislike, aided by religious differences, kept the pot of unfriendliness boiling harder than ever.

Canada West (now Ontario) had about two hundred thousand fewer people than Canada East (now Quebec) in 1841. But the English-speaking section had been given the same number of members in the Assembly as the larger French-speaking section. Ten years later, Canada West had outstripped Canada East in population. Immediately, a demand arose for representation by population, which meant that the number of members in the Assembly should be decided by the number of people in the different parts of the province. Naturally the French Canadians objected. "You equal numbers when our population was greater," they said, "so now we insist on equal numbers regardless of population."

"Rep-by-pop" and other arguments caused the rival parties in the province of Canada to be divided fairly evenly. Neither side could get enough Assembly members to carry on a steady government. Progress was delayed by these political wrangles. Both sides began to wonder if a larger union

of colonies would solve the problem.

Macdonald and Brown, the enemies who shook hands. The two men standing face to face in the centre of the Assembly Room at Quebec one June day in 1864 had not spoken to each other for ten years. They had exchanged insults, taunts and charges of corruption from opposite sides of the Assembly chamber. George Brown, tall, burly and sober in manner, had filled columns of his newspaper, the Toronto Globe, with abuse of John A. Macdonald. In speeches throughout the country, the slim, wiry Macdonald had abandoned his usual jovial manner to answer the Globe's insults with venom on his tongue.

Only a great crisis could bring these two leaders to forget their personal feud. Such a crisis had come to British North America in 1864. In the province of Canada, neither the Liberal-Conservative party led by Macdonald nor the "Clear Grit" Reformers led by Brown could carry on the business of the country. Four governments had been defeated in three years. As we have already seen, the need of railways, the hope of opening the great North-West, and troubles with the United States had turned men's minds to the idea of uniting the colonies.

With great patriotism, the sworn enemies, Macdonald and Brown, shook hands on a bargain to strive for one government over all British North America. Loyally, the two men kept their agreement until the plans for union were well and



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SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD Confederation was not his idea but it was his tact, energy and genius for compromise that brought Confederation into existence.

firmly laid. As Macdonald said later, "we acted together, dined at public places together, played euchre in crossing the Atlantic, and went into society in England together. And yet on the day after Brown resigned we resumed our old positions and ceased to speak."

A second Cartier leads the French in Canada. "Events stronger than men"—such was the description given by Thomas D'Arcy McGee to the American War, the disagreements in Canada, and the new inventions, which made the union of the colonies an urgent necessity. Yet when the fateful hour arrived in the movement for Confederation (as the idea of union was called), Canada and the Maritimes had leaders with wisdom, courage and vision.

Sir Georges Cartier was descended from the family of the famous explorer, Jacques Cartier. The 19th century Cartier, born and raised in the land discovered by the 16th century Cartier, was also, in a way, an explorer. He courageously led his French-speaking fellowcountrymen into unknown paths of government. Canada today is a monument to Cartier's passionate belief that under the British flag, the French Canadian would have the greatest possible freedom of language, religion and customs. He fought on two fronts-for he had to persuade the habitants to support the idea of union, and he had to convince the English Canadians that French rights should be preserved in the union plan. By succeeding in both attempts, he gained a place alongside Sir John A. Macdonald in the front rank of the Fathers of Confederation.

Other leaders: Galt, McGee and Tupper. When Sir Alexander Galt was invited to join the government of Canada in 1858, he agreed, but only after making the other leaders promise to work for union of the colonies. His action launched the Confederation plan on the stormy political seas of Canada. When the whole scheme was almost wrecked on the rocks of finance, Galt was the pilot who avoided the dangers.

It is proper that this story of the leaders of Confederation should include a quotation from D'Arcy McGee, for this brilliant Irishman was the orator of Confederation. Audiences in many cities and towns were won over to the union plan by the eloquent tongue and poetic imagination of this great patriot. His dramatic life story had a tragic ending, for he died from an assassin's bullet when the new Dominion was less than a year old.

Sir Charles Tupper was a Halifax doctor, but he never struggled harder to keep life in a patient than he did to keep the Confederation idea alive in Nova Scotia. It was a desperate struggle. The great Joseph Howe led the enemies of what he nicknamed "The Botheration Scheme." But Tupper by his skill and energy, finally brought Nova Scotia into Confederation, though many of the Nova Scotians were very dissatisfied with the plan.

The leaders met at Charlottetown. Macdonald and Brown wasted no time once they had made their bargain. With their band of able and patriotic advisers, Cartier, Galt, McGee and others, they immediately began to lay plans for a federation of all the colonies.

A golden opportunity was ready at hand. The leaders of the Maritime Colonies had decided to hold a conference to talk over a plan for uniting Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island into one province. The people in these colonies were dissatisfied with the slow progress in railway-building and with the lack of brisk trading. Some hoped that a union of the provinces would make them strong enough to improve conditions, but there was little enthusiasm for the idea. The place of meeting had not even been decided.

Macdonald and his allies seized the opportunity. To the amazement of the Maritimers, the leaders of the province of Canada asked permission to attend the proposed conference and present their ideas.

Charlottetown was chosen as the site of the conference. On September 1st, 1864, the government steamer Queen Victoria arrived at the capital of Prince Edward Island with the statesmen from Canada. They put forward convincing arguments for a union of all provinces and promised that the united colony would build a railway from Quebec to Halifax. The delegates decided to hold a larger conference at Quebec in October. A start had been made along the path to Confederation.

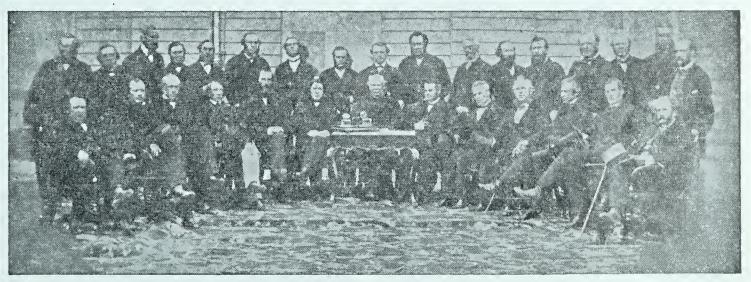
Quebec Resolutions for Confederation did not have smooth sailing. From the day when Champlain began his tiny settlement at Quebec to the day when Churchill and Roosevelt held a meeting there during World War II, the majestic fortress-rock on the St. Lawrence has been the scene of history-making events. But of all these happenings, none

was so important as the meeting there in October, 1864. In a room overlooking the stately river, delegates from all the colonies in British North America laid the foundation stones of the Canadian nation in sixteen days of lively debate, hard bargaining and patriotic compromise.

Macdonald gave magnificent leadership. Galt's skill in finance prevented a threatened deadlock. All thirty-three men co-operated in an inspired manner. Seventy-two resolutions outlining the Confederation plan were adopted.

But when the delegates returned home, troubles began. Confederation supporters in New Brunswick were badly beaten in an election. In Nova Scotia Joseph Howe fought with might and main against the Quebec Resolutions. The Assembly in Prince Edward Island voted twenty-three to five against union.

Only in the province of Canada did the Quebec plan pass with flying colours, and even there, some French Canadians opposed it.



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THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE

In this group photograph of the delegates to the Quebec Conference Macdonald is fourth from the left in the front row, Brown to his right.

However, the tide finally turned in favour of Confederation as the people of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia learned more about the plan and its advantages. By 1866, these provinces and Canada had appointed delegates to go to England for a final conference.

Britain favoured union of the colonies. In the 1860's, the government at London was most anxious to have the scattered settlements in British North America unite so that they would be strong enough to defend their country against the United States, if need arose. When Nova Scotia and New Brunswick seemed opposed to Confederation, the British leaders told the governors in the colonies to do everything possible to swing public favour around to support of the union plan.

Early in 1867, the conference in England, with Macdonald as chairman, agreed to the final terms of Confederation based on the Quebec Resolutions. In March, the Parliament in London passed the British North America Act. The foundation stones of modern Canada had been firmly set in place.

What did Confederation mean? England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland were all governed by one Parliament in 1867. But the geography and history of British North America made such a single government unsuitable for the colonies.

The Maritimes had fewer people than the province of Canada. They had different products because their lands were not alike. They were cut off from each other by the Appalachians and the Atlantic.

The habitants in Canada East differed in language, religion and customs from their English-speaking neighbours west of the Ottawa River.

These smaller groups naturally feared that in a single Parliament, their wishes would be trampled upon. The many representatives from Canada West would naturally want to have laws favourable to their part of the country and might neglect the other parts. French Canadians and Maritimers, therefore, would never give up all control of their own affairs to a distant Parliament in which they would be minorities. Yet separate governments in all the colonies made British North America weak and easy to attack. Such was the conundrum which the men favouring union had to solve. Here is what was decided: all matters of importance to everyone in British North America, such as defence and customs duties, were to be handled by a central Parliament made up of members from each province according to population. But all local matters, such as education and roads, would be controlled by provincial assemblies.

That was the plan called Confederation. On the whole, it has worked out surprisingly well.

July 1, 1867—the Dominion of Canada. When Queen Victoria's proclamation announcing the new, united colony was officially issued on July 1, 1867, no bands, parades or fireworks welcomed the birthday of the Dominion. Enthusiasm was conspicuous by its absence.

The British Parliament, when



THE ROAD TO NATIONHOOD

The triumphant march of the Canadian nation across the northern half of the American continent is shown here. Notice the province of Manitoba. As organized in 1870 it differed greatly from the province as it is today. The work of Confederation is not completed. There remain districts and territories which may some day be provinces.

Act, was more concerned about the possibility of war with the United States than with the union of the Colonies.

The United States Congress looked on Confederation with undisguised suspicion and unfriendliness. Macdonald had argued strongly for the title "Kingdom of Canada," but the British Foreign Secretary would not allow it because he thought the American republic would be furious at having a kingdom for its neighbour. "Dominion" was a new title which wouldn't make anyone angry.

Macdonald was in no mood to rejoice, for he was having difficulty

organizing a cabinet in which all provinces would have members.

Brown and his "Clear Grit" party were too busy to celebrate Dominion Day, as they were preparing to oppose Macdonald in political warfare. Some Nova Scotians were organizing a final struggle against Confederation, because Nova Scotians had never had a chance to vote on the plan. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland had stayed out of Confederation altogether.

All in all, the birthday of Canada seemed an unpromising event to many of the colonists. Confederation was none the less a tremendous step forward. Its importance has grown with the years until July the first has become a national day celebrated with pride by citizens from Atlantic to Pacific.

The name "Canada" took on a new meaning. "Canada" was an Indian word borrowed by the early French explorers. Many history writers say it came from the Iroquois word "Kannata" meaning "a settlement" and was used by the Indians as the name of lands around the village of Stadacona.

For centuries the French had used "Canada" as the name of the lands along the St. Lawrence River. When the United Empire Loyalists settled on the shores of Lakes Ontario and Erie, the name travelled westward with them.

At the time of Confederation, the meaning of "Canada" was broadened to include Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The people of these colonies and of Ontario at first rather resented being called Canadians. On the other hand, the French used the name for themselves and objected to its use by any other citizens of the new Dominion.

These ideas about the word Canadian showed that, though the colonists had united, they still did not think of themselves as one people and one nation. They were Nova Scotians or Ontarians first, and Canadians second. A beginning had been made, however. Through the years the people gradually gathered more pride and faith in their country until in World War II, citizen-fighters from every part of the nation proudly

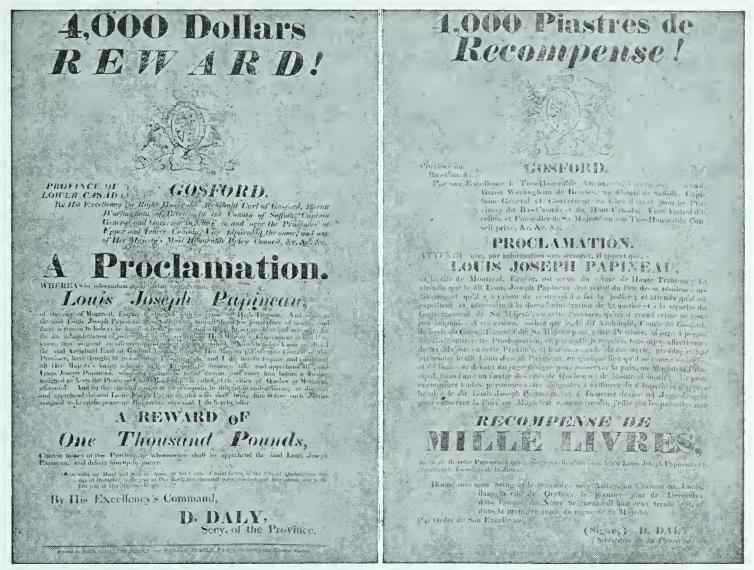
wore on the shoulders of their uniforms patches bearing the word Canada. They had become Canadians first, and Manitobans or Québecois second.

The French Canadians were satisfied. The people of the province of Quebec were quite happy about Confederation. They had their own Assembly where they spoke their own native language. They could have their own schools, worship in their own religion and keep their own civil laws. These rights were guaranteed by the British king, and by Parliament in London.

The wisest of the French knew that they had made a good bargain. If the colonies had joined the United States, the French Canadians would have had a much harder time keeping their own language and laws. The American government would probably have had little sympathy for this tiny group of French-speaking citizens surrounded by millions of people all using the English tongue.

Nova Scotians were dissatisfied. To say that the Nova Scotians did not like Confederation is to put it mildly. They had made every effort to block the scheme. Joseph Howe took the lead in the unsuccessful fight to keep the colony out of the union.

The assembly at Halifax, urged on by Premier Tupper and the lieutenant-governor, had rather reluctantly approved the plan. But a majority of the people were against it. Joseph Howe and other leaders argued that the larger provinces would benefit in trade



Public Archives of Canada

THE TWO LANGUAGES

By the terms of Confederation, Acts passed by the Canadian Parliament and the Legislature of Quebec were to be printed in both French and English. Signs in the two languages are common in Canada. This early example advertises a reward for the capture of Papineau.

and finance at Nova Scotia's expense. They said the capital would be so far away that the Atlantic province would be neglected. It would be better, they argued, for all colonies to send members to the British Parliament in London.

Some even wanted to break away from Canada to join the United States. However, the leaders, such as Howe, were set against turning Nova Scotia into an American state.

Confederation made modern Canada possible. When we look at the stories of how other nations were united, we see that almost always armies have been used, battles have been fought and much blood has been shed. But in British North America, the colonies were joined together without the loss of a single life or a drop of blood.

Such an achievement may almost be classed as a miracle. True, there was a remarkable series of great events which all seemed to be compelling the colonies to unite. But even with such strong reasons, the Confederation plan came perilously close to disaster. It was saved only by the patriotic efforts of the men since known as the "Fathers of Confederation."

When the union was accomplished, the colonists had a new

lease on life. With renewed confidence they could stand up bravely to the United States, they could vigorously press their claim to the North-West, and they could push on with the costly task of building railways.

The new Dominion had only about three and a half million citizens. Its four provinces were almost isolated from each other in winter time. It had yet to overcome the great obstacles of dif-

ferent faiths, two languages and varied geography.

Yet the very fact that the Dominion had been born at all was a happy portent for the future. The infant nation had great opportunities for growth in size and importance. The magnificent record of Canada in World War II and its present position amongst the nations of the world provide eloquent proof that the opportunities have not been wasted.

Chapter 6-Two Great Prime Ministers Guided the Young Nation

Sir John A. Macdonald, greatest of the Conservatives. A telegram was delivered to George Stephen, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company in Ottawa one winter day in 1885. Anxiously, Mr. Stephen glanced at the message from the general manager of the C.P.R.: "Have no means of paying wages, pay car can't be sent out, and unless we get immediate relief we must stop. Please inform Premier and Finance Minister."

Gangs of navvies laboured in the Rockies and along the north shore of Lake Superior, building a rail-way through country so rough that the construction cost was at times over half a million dollars a mile. Without more money, the last links in the railway chain from Atlantic to Pacific on Canadian soil could not be built. Without those links, the promise to British Columbia—a railroad from coast to coast—could not be kept, and

Confederation would be in grave danger.

The Premier, Sir John A. Macdonald, was on the horns of a dilemma. Unless his government put up the money, the C.P.R. would be bankrupt, bringing disaster to Canada and defeat to the Conservative party. But in Parliament, the members of the Opposition had been crying that the C.P.R. was like a bottomless hole, down which the country's millions were being poured in vain.

One member of Macdonald's Cabinet threatened to resign. Other ministers were firmly opposed to granting the Company a penny more.

Mr. Stephen wrote a plea to Macdonald. "Nothing but your own authority and influence," he said, would persuade Parliament.

Then Sir John made his decision. The C.P.R. must be completed. He called a Cabinet meeting of the ministers of his government. With

magnificent courage and determination, the seventy-year-old Prime Minister carried the day. Ministers and members of Parliament, given new heart by their chief, rallied

to his support.

The C.P.R. got the five million. Before the end of that year, the last rails joining Halifax to Vancouver by a line of steel were laid. On Dominion Day 1886, Macdonald himself arrived in Winnipeg by C.P.R. train on his first and only trip to the Pacific coast. In his speech to the citizens, Sir John gave an example of that good humour which made him such a charming companion and popular favourite. "I never expected to live long enough," he said, "to see the road completed, but thought when my friends were crossing Canada upon it I would be looking down upon them from a better sphere. My opponents stated that I would be looking up, whereas, in reality, to the surprise of both, I am doing it on the horizontal!"

This master leader, with his love of a joke and his tact in handling men, had a wise head and a steady hand when the going was rough. With might and main, he strove always to keep Confederation alive and growing.

Until his death in 1891, he remained at the helm of the new ship of state as Prime Minister, except for one five-year period. Without doubt the greatest leader the Conservative party has ever had, Macdonald was also a Canadian to whom all citizens, of whatever party or race, may justly pay homage.

Much remained to be done after Confederation. Though Macdonald and the other statesmen had done a fine job in creating a united Canada in 1867, the task was only well begun by the British North America Act of that year. Four colonies, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, the Red River Settlement, and British Columbia remained outside Confederation. Vast tracts of lands in what are now the prairie provinces were still owned by the Hudson's Bay Company. The promised Intercolonial Railway between Quebec and the Maritimes had yet to be built.

Even within the newly-united country, all was not well. Macdonald, as the man chosen to head the first Dominion government, immediately asked for the people's support in an election during the summer of 1867. Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick showed their approval of Confederation by sending to Ottawa a majority of government supporters. Nova Scotia, led by Joseph Howe, gave a different verdict. Of nineteen members elected, only Dr. Tupper was in favour of the new government.

Here was Macdonald's first big problem as leader of the enlarged Canada. He rose to the occasion. After a visit to Halifax, he persuaded Howe to become a member of his government. Howe joined the Cabinet after obtaining a promise of better financial terms for his province.

Thus ended the first threat to the young Canada. Now the leaders could turn their eyes to the problems of the great west. The story of the Red River Colony was unusual. You will remember that the prairie provinces are enclosed by geographical fences, the Rockies to the west and the Laurentian Shield to the east. Before the coming of the railway, it was very difficult to travel over the Laurentian barrier.

Through the work of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Union Jack flew over the prairies long before it was planted anywhere else in Canada. The great plains however were left for a century and a half to the fur trader and buffalo hunter.

Then in 1801, a Scottish nobleman read a book called "Voyages," written by Sir Alexander Mackenzie who had first reached the Pacific by land from Canada, and the idea of the Red River Colony was born. Lord Selkirk's plan was daring. He decided to ignore the usual method of having colonies slowly grow from the sea-coast inwards along the easiest routes. If that were done in North America, the British North-West would be settled by Americans coming up across the flat plains to the south. By planting a colony at the Forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, Selkirk would give poor Scottish people a new chance in life and at the same time keep the North-West for Britain.

The fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company opposed the idea. As we saw in the story of New France, farming and fur trading are natural enemies. So Selkirk used his wealth to gain control of the Company.

He then voted to grant himself one hundred and sixteen thousand square miles around the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

Kilted Scots with their families arrived at the Forks in 1812 after a journey from Hudson Bay that would have daunted all but the most stout-hearted colonists. Stout hearts were needed in the years to come. Traders of the Nor' West Fur Company, bitter rivals of the "Bay men," used bribery and threats to wreck the settlement. In 1816, Governor Semple and twenty-one men were killed at Seven Oaks, just north of present-day Winnipeg, by a band of Métis (French-Indian half breeds) employed by the Nor' Westers. Even after the two Companies united in 1821, the Selkirk settlers had to survive a flood and a plague of locusts. But from 1826 onwards, bumper crops brought good times to hardy men and women who stayed at Red River to make Lord Selkirk's dream come true.

The Hudson's Bay Company sold half a continent to Canada. A clergy-man in Halifax in 1868 collected money to send to the Red River Colony, where crops had been ruined by grasshoppers. The people who contributed knew so little about the British settlement in the heart of the continent that the clergyman remarked, "I could have collected the money quite as easily if the sufferers had been in Central Abyssinia."

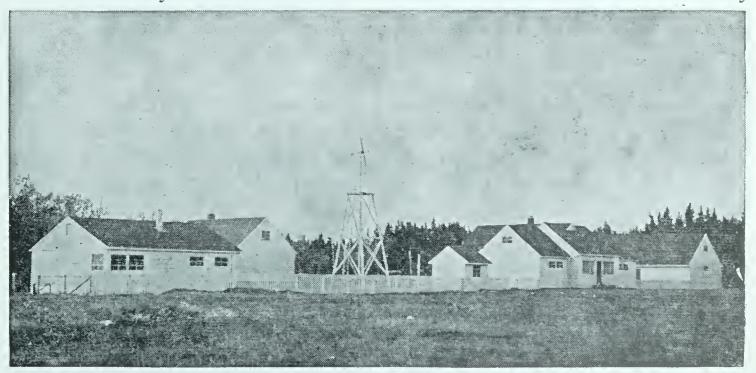
Two years later, however, everyone in British North America had heard a great deal about the Red River Settlement. The colonists at at the time of Confederation from the half century of isolation behind the Laurentian barrier. Several events combined to cause the troubles at Red River.

Settlers from Ontario and Quebec were beginning to arrive in the western colony. These newcomers were used to governing themselves. When they learned that the Hudson's Bay Company ruled the Red River Settlement and all the prairie lands, they began to make protests and to demand responsible government.

Lord Selkirk's first colonists had come to Red River when the prairie wilderness stretched almost to Lake Michigan, with only a handful of settlers. By the 1860's, the American settlers who had swarmed into Minnesota were eager that the prairie lands should be taken over by the United States.

You will remember that Macdonald, Brown and the other statesmen had worked all the harder for Confederation because they were anxious to take over the North-West before the United States snatched it. The new Canada, when only two years old, bought the vast western territories from the Hudson's Bay Company for \$1,500,000. The North-West was a bargain at the price. But with it, as we shall see, came trouble for Canadian leaders.

The Hudson's Bay Company today. If you live in Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Edmonton or Calgary, Vancouver or Victoria, you will be familiar with the great modern department stores which serve these cities and which bear the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. Or if you live in the rural area of Saskatchewan you will know that certain sections of land are known as Hudson's Bay



The Hudson's Bay Company

A Post of the Modern Hudson's Bay Company

The post shown above is a far cry from the fort pictured on page 131 with its strong palisade and guardian towers from which cannon could command the approaches. Yet in spite of the differences, in the modern post in the lonely north the Company's work goes on much as it did a hundred years ago.



HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POSTS

As fur-bearing animals fled or were destroyed in the eastern areas, the hunters penetrated new territory. The Company followed to establish new posts in the interior. The map above illustrates the extent to which trappers and traders of the Company helped to plot paths across the Canadian wilderness.

sections. When it sold its western territories to Canada the Company did not go out of business. It retained certain trading rights and was granted certain lands; so that today, as for the past three hundred years, the Company still plays an important part in the life of our country. Its department stores are among the finest in Canada, and its Land Department, trading in the land received by the Company for surrendering its rights, has done much to settle the west. It is still a fur-trading company. Its canoes may now be helped on their way by outboard motors, or replaced entirely by motor boats; its traders may receive their orders by radio daily instead of yearly by

supply ship; and aeroplanes may freight them their goods and take out their bales of furs. But its isolated posts still stand in the lonely parts of Canada's north country and the trader still pays his Indian trappers in tobacco, flour, and canned goods. Young men still volunteer for a five-year apprenticeship in the lonely posts of the north and carry on the traditions of the men like Kelsey, Hearne, and Douglas who served the Company in its great days and who, by their yearly journeys into the wilderness, gradually solved the mystery that was the Canadian west.

Louis Riel began his stormy career in the Red River Settlement. Probably never before in the history of the British Empire has the fate of a colony been decided by an openair meeting in the winter with the temperature at twenty below zero. This unusual event occurred in the Red River Settlement on January 20th, 1870.

The colony had been in a turmoil for three months. Donald Smith, the head of the Hudson's Bay Company in Canada, was sent by Macdonald to try to settle the troubles. As there was no building large enough for a mass meeting, it was decided to assemble in the courtyard of Fort Garry, despite the intense cold.

Louis Riel was present as the leader of the Métis. These French-Indian half-breeds lived at St. Boniface when they weren't off hunting buffalo. They made up about half the population at the Red River Colony. The sale of the North-West to Canada had made them angry, because it had been done without reference to the people who lived on the lands. When surveyors came from Canada to mark out the lots, the Métis feared that their farms were about to be stolen by Canadians. Under the leadership of the fiery-tongued Riel, the Métis in October, 1869, had prevented the new lieutenantgovernor from crossing the border at Pembina, and had set up a government for the colony.

Also at the meeting were large numbers of Scottish settlers and Scottish half-breeds. The few settlers from Ontario were also out in full force. They had been loudly in favour of Canada taking over the colony, and had made them-



Public Archives of Canada

Louis RIEL

His execution of Scott was a tragic error and his rebellion of 1885 was treason, but in 1870 there was much justice in the cause he led.

selves unpopular by their arrogant manners.

Donald Smith spoke to the meeting for several hours, while the colonists listened quietly. He explained that the Canadian government was anxious to give the Métis and the other settlers all their rights. He told the half-breeds that the surveyors were not going to take anybody's land, but were making maps of the colony. The colony he said would be better off when it was joined to Canada.

As the short winter day drew to a close, the meeting decided that a committee with twenty French-speaking and twenty English-speaking members should draw up and send to Ottawa a list of the colonists' rights. The meeting ended

on a harmonious note as Riel made

a short, friendly speech.

A few days later a provisional government was set up with Riel as president. The list of rights was drawn up and three men were appointed to go to Ottawa.

The killing of Scott was an ill-starred event for all Canada. A happy ending to the Red River troubles seemed to be in sight. Then Riel made a tragic blunder, and caused such a tempest that its thunder may still be heard echoing in Canada even today.

The muskets of a firing squad roared outside the walls of Fort Garry at noon on March 4th, 1870. Thomas Scott, the condemned man, fell writhing to the ground.

This drastic punishment was carried out because Scott, an Ontario Irishman, had done all he could to oppose the Métis. When captured, he had insulted and fought his guards, and twice escaped. Finally, Riel had Scott executed to show the colonists that the government must be obeyed.

In Ontario and Quebec, the news of the killing produced violent and startling results. Scott was a member of the Orange Order, an association strong in Ontario, which was opposed to the Catholic Church. Riel was a French-Indian half-breed who belonged to the Catholic religion. He had been educated in Catholic schools in Quebec.

Orangemen were roused to a frenzy by what they considered the murder of their countryman by a French Catholic. Quebec people, on the other hand, defended Riel. They claimed that the execution

was carried out according to law.

Peace was restored when the province of Manitoba was set up. The delegates to Ottawa from Riel's government were successful in their mission. The Canadian government acted upon Riel's suggestion that Manitoba should be a self-governing province, and not a territory ruled from Ottawa. The Manitoba Act was passed by Parliament and included practically everything that the Red River colonists had demanded.

However, the uproar in Ontario over the killing of Scott was so great that Macdonald decided to send Colonel Wolseley with a military expedition to protect all citizens when Manitoba was established in the summer of 1870. Riel escaped to the United States nursing a grudge against Canada which caused much more trouble in later years.

Peace had been brought to Red River. But the killing of Scott had done a great deal of lasting harm.

Law and order comes to the west. In the year 1874 a number of young Canadians were travelling in two trains across the plains of North Dakota. They were about a hundred and fifty in number but they travelled with a great deal of equipment; for example, two hundred and seventy-five horses accompanied them. They had set out from Toronto on the 6th day of June and their destination was Fargo, North Dakota. Their passage through the principal towns along their route was noted by the inhabitants with a great deal of

interest. The Pioneer, a newspaper in St. Paul, Minnesota, for example, observed that "the men behaved like gentlemen. With the exception of six or eight, all are young unmarried men, every officer being a magistrate, every trooper a constable, and all of them eagerly looking forward to an engagement with the sanguinary Sioux."

The young men who were described in these flattering terms were members of a newly organized force of policemen, on their way west to rendezvous with the other half of the force at Dufferin, Manitoba, where they were to complete their training and to enter on their new duties. They had not always been policemen. Three months before they had been clerks, discharged soldiers, teachers, land agents, carpenters and tinsmiths. They had been brought into their new way of life by an advertisement appearing in the eastern newspapers on April 15:

The Dominion Government requires volunteers for the North-West Mounted Police. The knowledge of English or French is obligatory. Moreover, the candidate must have good antecedents and be a good horseman. For further particulars apply to Colonel Bacon.

A. French, Commissioner.

The circumstances that led to the formation of the force of which they were a part were these:

There were many reasons for the formation of a police force. British Columbia, as we have seen, had joined Confederation on condition that it be linked to the eastern provinces by a railway. Later in this chapter we shall read the story of how that railway was construct-

ed. But in 1871 the odds against its ever being built were great. Not only did a belt of mountains, five hundred miles wide, form a barrier in its way, but from Lake Superior to the foot of these mountains lay the great plains. Canada, as we have seen, had just bought this territory from the Hudson's Bay Company. It was peopled by roving bands of restless and suspicious Indians who were hostile to the white men and who could be depended upon to oppose the building of the railway. Surveyors and workmen could not be expected to undertake their tasks when their very lives were in danger; nor would investors put up money for railway construction while there existed a large and fierce body of men prepared to destroy the tracks as fast as they were laid. The costly and bloody Indian wars which were then raging in the United States were a proof of how difficult the situation was and how skilfully it must be handled. Yet somehow law and order must be brought to the Indians, if the railway was to be built.

There was another reason for the formation of a police force which, in view of the sensitive relations between Canada and the United States at the time, could not be too much stressed but which was equally important. If Canada did not quickly make some effort to occupy her newly-bought territory there was still a possibility that the United States would do so. Adventurers from the south were already moving into the territory. Some of these were legitimate traders,

many more were outlaws and exconvicts and soldiers disbanded from the armies which had fought in the Civil War. There were smugglers who brought whisky into Canada which they used in their trade with the Indians, in this way not only defrauding the tribes who, under the influence of whisky, were easily persuaded to part with their most valuable possessions, but also making them more dangerous and difficult to handle. So another reason for the formation of the force was to protect the Indians from these unscrupulous traders and at the same time to demonstrate to the traders that the west was now Canadian.

The plans for the new force were outlined in the House of Commons by the Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. They should be, he said, a band of riflemen, armed and mobile, who would patrol the frontier, stop the smuggling of whisky to the Indians, collect customs, and protect the settlers who would some day move into the prairies. They must move about the area, enforcing the laws and dealing out justice. Since the new nation was far from wealthy, three hundred men, Sir John thought, should be enough to police the 300,000 odd square miles of the west.

Sir John had intended that the new force should be called Mounted Riflemen. This, however, sounded too much as though an army were being organized and so the word Police was substituted for Riflemen. The scarlet tunic, however, which was of army origin, remained. Much of the work of the

police was to be with the Indians and the Indians were used to the red coats of the British soldiers who had been stationed in the west and whom they had liked.

The beginnings of the force. One hundred and fifty men were recruited in the fall of 1873 and were sent out to Manitoba where they spent the winter twenty miles north of Fort Garry in some former Hudson's Bay Company buildings. That first winter was a hard one. Few of the men were accustomed to the harshness of the winter on the plains and to add to their discomfort no winter uniforms were available. There was little romance, or even police duties, in their programme; nothing but hard work and hard training in horsemanship, foot drill, shooting with rifle and revolver, and fatigues. But the hard work and training paid off, and it was a hardy body of men that moved out of barracks in June 1874 to march south to Dufferin, Manitoba, there to rendezvous with the second half of the force. This, as we have seen, had been recruited in the east in the spring of 1874, given preliminary training in Toronto, and then had been sent by railroad to the west. It is proof of the sad state of communications in Canada in that year that permission had to be obtained from the United States government to send the men through U.S. territory. The permission was granted provided the men wore no uniforms and carried no rifles.

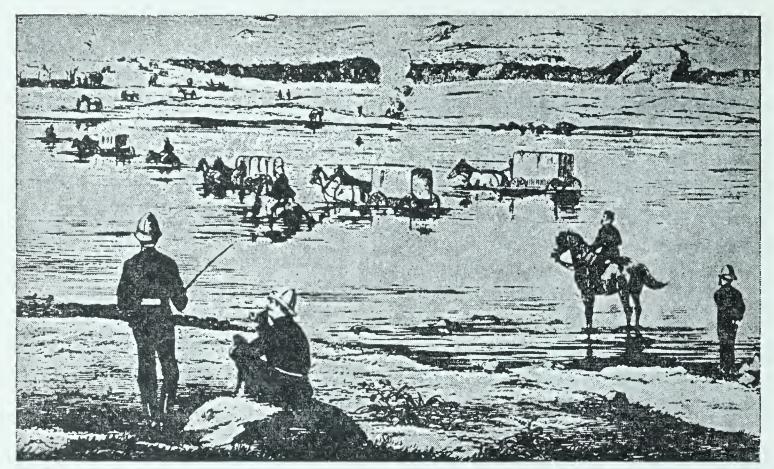
A busy month for the members of the new force followed their

arrival. Their training, particularly in horsemanship and the care of their mounts, had to be completed, clothing and arms issued, wagons assembled and loaded, stores divided amongst the troops, and half-breed drivers recruited. Once more there was more hard work than romance, and Dufferin, which is now the border town of Emerson, Manitoba, was not the liveliest place to live. But an end came at last to their labours and on 8 July, 1874 the men of the new North-West Mounted Police moved out of Dufferin and into the pages of the history books. They were starting out on what has come to be known in the records of the force as the Big March.

They made a brave and impressive show as they moved into Indian territory. With their scarlet coats went lances with fluttering pennants, gleaming white helmets with brass spikes, and spotless white gauntlets. The members of each troop rode horses whose colours matched, and a train of wagons and two field guns accompanied them. The rear of the line of march was less spectacular and less military. Here rolled a hundred and fourteen Red River carts piled with equipment, driven by slovenly half-breed drivers. Behind these came a herd of cows and steers and at the very end of the procession rolled mowing machines and other agricultural equipment; for it was also intended that the men of the Mounted should act in the capacity of agricultural advisers to the new settlers on the prairies.

The Big March. Some day you should read for yourself the detailed record of the Big March. It is a story of hardships and difficulties which seemed sent specially to try the young and half-trained men of the new force. First there was the hot prairie sun, hard on men and horses alike, the shortage of pasture and, worse, of water. Horses and cattle sickened and died; wagons broke down. By day hordes of grasshoppers made their lives miserable; at night clouds of mosquitoes prevented sleep. The autumn days passed gradually into winter and winter on the prairies, as one half of the contingent had already learned, was not to be taken lightly. Supplies became scarce. So many men and horses were taken sick that one of their halts was named Cripple Camp. Worst of all, there was little to relieve the monotony of the march for they saw no Indians with the exception of a few who were sickly and dirty and not at all like "the sanguinary Sioux" they had been led to expect.

There existed a few reasonably well defined trails across the prairies. One, running along the border, had the advantage of keeping close to settlements in the United States from which, if necessary, help and provisions might have been obtained. Another, farther to the north, ran through the territory of friendly Indians. But the men who planned the Big March chose neither of these. Instead they drew a line almost due west through uncharted territory, straight across the prairies and into



Royal Canadian Mounted Police

ON THE BIG MARCH

Along with the Mounted Police who made the Long March, there travelled a newspaper correspondent and artist, named Julien. This artist's sketches, one of which is reproduced above, gives a lively and on-the-spot record of the men and the events of that famous march, and of the country through which they passed.

the foothills of the Rockies. The reason for this was simple: by marching the new force through the land of unfriendly Indians and the uncharted wastes where the whisky smugglers would most likely be met, the government of Canada wished to serve notice to all concerned that law and order had arrived in the west.

Not all of the men made the complete journey. The sick horses and the livestock were slowing up the march and one troop was sent with these in another bold march northwest to Edmonton, a distance of over 1200 miles. Arrived there, the troop went into winter quarters. The remainder made their way to the foothills of the Rockies which they reached in September. From there two troops started back

toward the east intending to go into winter quarters at Swan River in Manitoba. The buildings which were to have been ready for them, however, proved to be unfinished and the men had to push on to Fort Garry where they arrived on 4th November. In four months they had covered 1959 miles.

The taking of Fort Whoop-Up. Meanwhile the three troops which had been left behind moved farther west towards the notorious Fort Whoop-Up. This was a trading post set up by the whisky smugglers and wild rumours had circulated that it housed four hundred well-armed desperadoes and was defended by cannon. Also, though it was on Canadian soil, over it flew the Stars and Stripes of America. Located within ten miles of

the modern city of Lethbridge, in Alberta, it seemed a fine place to start teaching the smugglers that they were on Canadian soil and that the laws of Canada must be obeyed. But when the three troops summoned the fort to surrender they found that it contained only an aged half-breed woman and a cripple. The smugglers had fled at the approach of the forces of law and order. Disappointed of any action, the Mounted Police moved twenty miles up the Old Man River where they built a fort which they named Macleod after their commander. The Big March was over.

The men of the Mounted must have been disappointed in the results of the march. They had endured bravely and overcome great difficulties but they had encountered neither hostile Blackfeet, nor armed whisky smugglers. Yet, had they realized it, that was the surest sign of their success, for the Blackfeet had undoubtedly watched the progress of the march from hiding and had decided against attack; and the fact remained that the smugglers had run away at the very rumour of their coming.

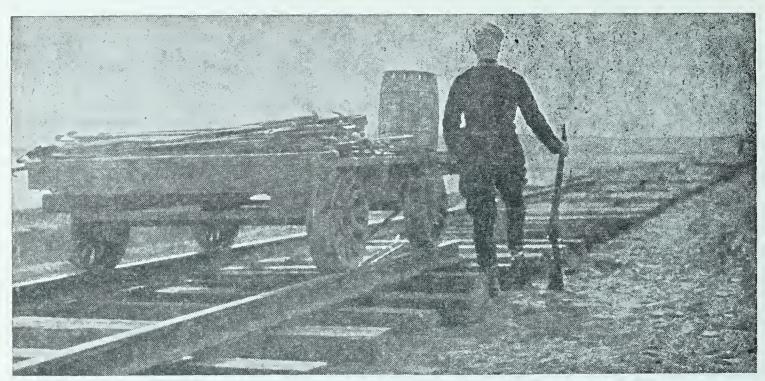
Quickly the Mounted Police took up the duties assigned them. In a surprisingly short time they had made friends with the chiefs of the Blackfeet, had established detachments to collect customs, and had captured some smugglers and frightened away others. On the last day of the year 1874 Colonel Macleod was able to write this triumphant sentence to his superiors:

I am happy to be able to report the complete stoppage of the whisky trade through-

out the whole of this section of the country, and that the drunken riots which in former years were almost a daily occurrence are now entirely at an end.

The force moves on. Year by year the work of the Mounted Police was continued and increased. New posts were built and telegraph wires strung. They maintained the peace amongst the Indians and it was owing to their efforts and to the trust that the Indians had in their honesty and justice that treaties were completed between the Dominion government and the Indians and the latter moved on to the reservations assigned to them without disturbance or bloodshed. As the settlers moved into the new lands the men of the Mounted gave them a hand, advised them about farming in the west, patrolled their homesteads to ensure that all was well, and kept a look-out for prairie fires. They tracked down brought to trial cattle rustlers, horse thieves, and murderers. On occasion they acted as doctors or nurses.

When the C.P.R. began to lay its tracks across the plains new duties were assigned to the Police. They kept order amongst the hardboiled construction workers, protected their interests, administered first-aid in accidents, policed labour disputes, and persuaded the Indians to permit the right of way to run across their lands. The Mounted Police also took an important part in putting down the rebellion of 1885 in northern Saskatchewan. When gold was found in the Yukon a detachment of police was immediately set up there and ensured



Royal Canadian Mounted Police

END OF STEEL

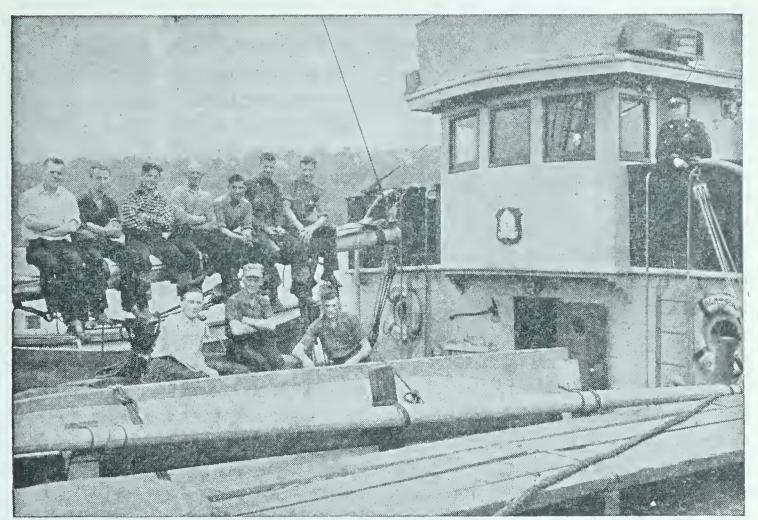
This photograph from the files of the Mounted Police illustrates more graphically than any story can the coming of two forces, the railway and the police, which, between them, were to play an important part in the settlement of the west. It should be interesting to compare a uniform like the one above with a present-day uniform.

by their presence that law and order would prevail in circumstances where usually there was little of either. In the early years of this century the Mounted Police moved into the Arctic regions where they took the Eskimos under their protection as once they had done for the Indians, curbed the slaughter of fur-bearing animals, and established the rule of justice. In their work in the Arctic a group of Mounted Police was able to bring to a successful conclusion a search which generations of bold men had undertaken for four centuries and in which many had lost their lives. In 1942 Staff-Sergeant H. A. Larsen, in command of the R.C.M.P. boat St. Roch, completed a two-year voyage from west to east through the North West Passage. Two years later he completed the passage from east to

west from Halifax to Vancouver in one year.

Twice the name of the force was changed. At first known as the North-West Mounted Police, it became, in 1904, the Royal North-West Mounted Police. Sixteen years later, when the force took over police work throughout the Dominion, its name was changed to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and by that name it is now known.

The R.C.M.P. today. Today the work of the Mounted Police goes on with all the energy, all the integrity, and all the devotion to duty and to the cause of justice, law, and order, that has marked the force from the very beginning. They have changed, of course, as Canada itself has changed in the years since the force was founded. Headquarters are no longer in the west but in Ottawa. The scarlet



Royal Canadian Mounted Police

THE END OF CENTURIES OF SEARCH

To the men of the Mounted Police and particularly to the crew of the St. Roch goes the honour of bringing to a successful end the search for the North-West Passage which from the days of John Cabot had engaged the minds and efforts of the explorers of many nations. Staff-Sergeant Larsen and his crew are shown above.

tunic has gone except for ceremonial and dress occasions; today the Mounted Police officer is more likely to wear khaki, and some even work in plain clothes. They are still a mobile force and they still have a few horses; but a report from their Commissioner shows that they have about eight hundred automobiles and only a hundred horses and that their other transport includes motor-cycles, trucks, aeroplanes, and boats. In two training centres, at Regina and Rockcliffe near Ottawa, they learn all the most modern methods of crime detection and they take full advantage of scientific discoveries.

The Mounted Police have taken

over police work in the prairie provinces and the Maritimes, enforcing the laws passed by the provincial legislatures. In addition they enforce the laws of the Dominion government and engage, particularly, in the prevention of smuggling by land, sea, and air, the protection of government buildings, and all police work in the Arctic. During the war they added counter-espionage and anti-sabotage work to their duties and in addition to its many members who enlisted in the armed services, the force also sent overseas a contingent as military police. The present strength of the force is about 4,000 men.

The motto of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police is Maintiens le droit. It means "Maintain the right," but perhaps it can be better translated as "Wherever I am, there is law and order." It is a proud motto and one which the force has earned. The history of settlement in the Canadian west is a peaceful one, especially when it is compared with the disturbance and bloodshed which accompanied settlement in the American west. That settlement was so peacefully accomplished and that Canada was spared bloody Indian wars is to the credit of the Mounted Police, to their fearlessness and honesty, and to the determination of their founders that the policy of the new force should be one of simple justice.

Macdonald's daring promise: a Pacific railway within ten years. We have mentioned Canada's geographic fences several times. The greatest of these is the Rocky Mountain range which separates British Columbia from the prairies.

Except for the fact that both Canada and the colony on the Pacific coast were loyal to the same Queen and the same motherland, there was little reason why British Columbia should enter Confederation. Some colonists at the Pacific wished to join the United States. In many ways, this plan was far more sensible than trying to unite with colonists lying thousands of miles eastward across mountains and plains.

Ties of blood and race are always very strong. In this case, they were stronger than geography. Many British Columbians joined in a successful campaign in support of the Confederation plan. However, there was one big question mark. Could Canada build a railway to the Pacific? And if she could, would she? Without some good means of communication over the geographic fence, union seemed rather useless.

To build a railroad clear across Canada was a staggering engineering problem. For a country with less than four million citizens to build a line across muskeg, swamp, empty prairie and huge mountains, was also a colossal financial problem.

Macdonald, with superb confidence, made the promise to British Columbians: Join Confederation and within ten years, you can ride by train across Canada to Ontario. His opponents said he was a madman. One stated that the whole British Empire couldn't do the job in ten years. Another declared that such a railway would never pay for its own axle-grease.

Macdonald's answer was simple: the railway must be built if Canada is to extend to the Pacific and it will be built!

A Mari Usque Ad Mare: "From Sea to Sea." When British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871, Canada earned the proud motto which, in Latin, adorns her coat of arms: A Mari Usque Ad Mare. In 1873, the union was rounded out by Prince Edward Island's change of heart. Due to financial difficulties over building railways, the island province welcomed the opportunity to enter the union it had rejected six years earlier. Newfoundland

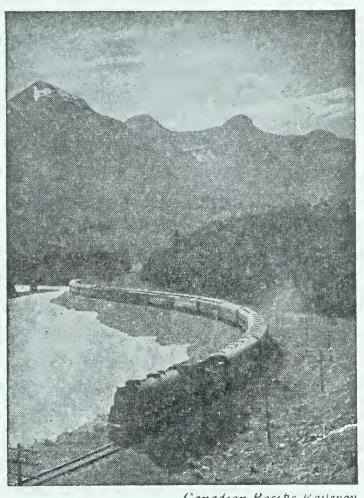
still refused to join, however, and almost eighty years were to pass before Britain's first colony in the New World became a province of Canada.

Wonders were accomplished in British North America during the first half dozen years of Confederation. The young Canada had expanded to the Pacific. Nova Scotia had been brought from the verge of revolt to willing co-operation. The North-West had been saved for Canada.

Great as were these accomplishments, the tasks ahead loomed even vaster. There was prairie land, larger than France and Germany combined, to be filled up with settlers. A railway had to be built within ten years over thousands of miles of uninhabited country.

The Pacific Scandal caused Macdonald's defeat. A group of Montreal business men were trying to obtain a contract for building the railway to the Pacific. Macdonald had promised to construct the line. His opponents said the plan was fantastic. Naturally, the business men wanted Macdonald in power.

The people of Canada re-elected Macdonald and his Conservatives in 1872 But when Parliament assembled the next winter, a Liberal member accused Macdonald of receiving large sums of money from the Montreal business men who wanted the railway contract. A newspaper published letters and telegrams such as the following from Macdonald to a wealthy Montrealer: "I must have another ten thousand; do not fail me; answer today."



Canadian Pacific Kailway

IN THE MOUNTAINS

There have been few greater feats of railroad engineering than the driving of the C.P.R. through the Rocky Mountains.

Parliament and the people were shocked. Macdonald gave his answers. He had not kept the money. He had not used it for bribery, but for regular election expenses. He had not promised the contract to the Montrealers in return for the money. He accused the Liberals of getting funds for elections in a similar way.

In vain Macdonald pleaded his innocence. The members of Parliament voted against him and, in the election, the people did the same.

Bad times in business held Canada back. Alexander Mackenzie was the leader of the Liberals. As his party had the largest number of members in the new Parliament elected in 1873, he became Prime Minister.

The new head of the Canadian government was a cautious man who regarded Macdonald's great plan for a Pacific railway within ten years as an expensive pipedream. He decided to build the line in small sections as the country could afford it. British Columbians protested and threatened to join the United States, but Mackenzie doggedly stuck to his slowbut-sure plan.

The Liberals were encouraged in their caution because they had the ill fortune to hold office when Canada was having hard times in business. Mackenzie gave the country strictly honest government. But with Confederation still to be cemented, more of Macdonald's ability and imagination was needed and honesty alone was not enough.

"John A." rides back to power on the "National Policy." If we could turn back the years to 1877 and drop into a small town in Canada on a pleasant summer afternoon, we might see an interesting spectacle. Macdonald, now leader of the Opposition in Parliament, was laying shrewd plans for the next election and travelling far and wide to talk to the voters. At each town, the Conservatives would organize a "political picnic" at which "John A.," as Macdonald was affectionately called, would be the feature attraction.

From miles around would come the families in their wagons. The political picnic would be the big event of the summer for young and old alike. People then had no movies or radios, so attendance at political rallies was an entertainment as well as a duty.

Games and races were held for the children. Grown-ups joked and gossiped. Family and friends joined in jolly groups for picnic lunches. "John A." would move about in the thick of the crowd, talking and joking with hundreds of the men.

Then came the big event, Sir John's speech. His main idea would be something like this: "You have all seen the factories closing while the Liberals have been in power. Mackenzie clings to the Free Trade notion, just because England has it, though conditions are not at all the same here. Our manufacturers cannot even get started, because the larger American factories make goods more cheaply. If you will elect me, all Canada will benefit from my National Policy. When foreign goods come into Canada, we will collect higher customs duties to swell our treasury and at the same time give our factories a fair chance. Then who will buy an American stove at \$100 if he can buy a Canadian stove for \$99? There will be more jobs for Canadians. The wealth of Canada will be kept in Canada. The growing manufacturing towns will buy more farm goods. Only a National Policy will save Canada from being drained of men and money for the benefit of the United States."

Political picnics and the National Policy did the trick. After the election of 1878, John A. returned victorious to Ottawa.

Railway triumph: 3,475 miles of steel joined Halifax and Vancouver. With Macdonald again Prime Minister work was soon begun to carry out the promise made to British Columbia. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company was formed to break through Canada's giant geographic barriers, the Rockies, and the Laurentian Shield.

We have already read at the beginning of this chapter something of the difficulties faced by the Canadian Macdonald and Pacific Railway. To obtain the great sums of money was difficult; but the obstacles faced by the engineers were even more difficult. North of Lake Superior, the muskeg swallowed trainloads of gravel and still gave no firm foundation for the track. At one place, seven sets of rails have sunk into the muskeg one on top of another since the railway was built. Construction work in the Rockies seemed to some men well-nigh impossible.

Clever plans and back-breaking toil solved all the problems. In 1885, the gangs from the east and those from the west met in the mountains of British Columbia. Macdonald's promise to British Columbia had been kept.

A Liberal newspaper editor wrote sourly about "the spectacle of a railway 2,500 miles long operated on the strength of a traffic with about 150,000 people. Such a thing was never tried before, and is unlikely ever to be tried again."

The Canadian Pacific Railway did cost an enormous sum. But without it, there could have been no permanent "Dominion From Sea to Sea."

Riel led the Métis in the North-West Rebellion. A message to Ottawa was flashed across the newly-completed telegraph lines from the west, late in March, 1885. A force of Métis under Louis Riel had shot down ten Mounted Police at Duck Lake. Riel the trouble-maker was at work again. What was he up to this time?

Reasons for the new Métis outbreak were easy to understand. Many of these restless half-breed hunters had moved from Red River out to the Saskatchewan River country in search of their old buffalo hunting, fur trapping life. Now the railway and the surveyors were coming to the most distant parts of the great west. Fear of losing their rights and their lands made the Métis desperate.

What is more difficult to understand is the blindness and carelessness of the leaders at Ottawa. Reports from the Mounted Police, warnings from missionaries, petitions from the Métis all went unheeded by the government. Macdonald had the bad habit of delaying his decisions in the hope that problems would solve themselves. For this, he was nicknamed "Old Tomorrow."

The Métis, despairing of justice, sent for Riel, who had been teaching in Montana. He welcomed the opportunity to settle his grudge against Canada.

Regiments were formed both in the east and the west. Speedily, the new railway brought the troops to the scene on the Saskatchewan River. The rebellion was soon crushed. Riel was captured.

Bad blood between English and French Canadians. What was to be done with Riel? The English-

speaking provinces, led by Ontario, demanded that he be executed. Riel had murdered Scott. He had led a rebellion. A Toronto newspaper prophesied that if Riel was not hanged, "Ontario would smash Confederation into its original fragments."

Quebec at first did not defend Riel very strongly. Yet when it became plain that Riel was being made the excuse for a violent attack on all French Canadians, Quebec rallied to his support. was claimed that the blame really lay on the government which had ignored the discontented Métis.

Both sides had some truth in their statements. But the fight soon went far past Riel's crimes and became a political battle among the

provinces.

Macdonald finally made his decision. Riel should be executed. With his mind made up, Sir John refused to budge. "He shall hang," said the Prime Minister, "though every dog in Quebec bark in his favour."

Riel's life ended on the scaffold at Regina. But his memory has remained for years like a restless ghost.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, greatest of the Liberals. Wolfe, Brock and other heroes performed heroic deeds on Canadian battlefields. But Wilfrid Laurier gave just as great a display of courage in Canada's Parliament on a winter's day in 1896.

Laurier was the chief of the Liberal party, and leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, since the Liberals at that time had the second largest number of members. When Parliament had to settle the Manitoba Schools Question, Laurier was placed in a

very difficult position.

Racial and religious feuds had continued in Canada after the hanging of Louis Riel. In Manitoba, the English-speaking and Protestant majority decided that no more tax money should be given to religious schools. Catholics, particularly French Canadians, objected. They wanted their children to go to Catholic schools. Now they would have to find the money for these schools, as well as pay taxes for the government schools.

The Dominion Parliament had the power to force Manitoba to support religious schools French Canadians all over the country demanded that this be done.

Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the Conservative Prime Minister, was an ardent Orangeman from Ontario. In spite of this, he decided that the French Catholics were right, although many Orangemen friends denounced him. On the other hand, Wilfrid Laurier, the French Canadian Roman Catholic, believed that a province had the right to decide for itself the kind of schools it should have.

French Catholic bishops wrote Laurier a letter, telling him he must change his mind or they would do everything in their power to defeat him and help Bowell. Here was a strange spectacle.

What would Laurier do? hushed House of Commons listened to his speech. The Liberal leader said that he was loyal to his religion. But must he obey the bishops, he asked, when they told him what to do in Parliament? He knew how angry the bishops would be if he did not obey. Yet with splendid courage and patriotism, he gave the answer he thought best for the country. No! he declared, as leader of a party including both Protestants and Catholics, English and French, he would do only what could be approved "by all men who love justice, freedom, and toleration."

In the elections later that year, the Liberals won a great victory. Laurier became the first French Canadian to hold the high office of Prime Minister of Canada. For fifteen years he governed a country which was making progress in giant strides.

Immigrants came to the west by hundreds of thousands. Many people believe that long lists of figures can be very uninteresting. But sometimes they tell an exciting tale. For example, look at the table below.

If you allow your imagination to work, these cold figures will tell you a dramatic story of Canada's rushing growth during Laurier's fifteen years as Prime Minister.

Over 300,000 immigrants in one year! Picture the scenes. Railway

coaches packed with roughlydressed immigrants gazing in fascination as Canada's broad acres flash past the windows, excited chatter rising in many different languages - English, Ukrainian, German, Polish, Russian, Icelandic. Thousands of pioneers building frame homes on the treeless prairies. Thousands of teams of horses pulling ploughs for the first time across the rich plains where the buffalo had roamed for centuries. Thousands of bushels of golden wheat at harvest time pouring into new elevators beside new railroads. Thousands of men building things, railways, bridges, elevators, stores, barns, farm machines, locomotives and coaches.

So many people had settled on the prairies in the early years of this century that in 1905 two new provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, were formed and admitted to Confederation.

This was the great Canadian dream coming true. When Macdonald died in 1891, Canada's future seemed to be turning blacker every year. The Canadian Pacific Railway had failed to bring the promised prosperity. The west had still only a handful of settlers, and it was losing these to the United

| | 1896 | | 1911 |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Population of Canada | 5,000,000 | (approx.) | 7,200,000 |
| Number of Immigrants | 16,835 | * * | 331,288 |
| Population of Prairies | 200,000 | (approx.) | 1,200,000 |
| (not including Indians) | | | |
| Miles of Railroad | | (approx.) | 25,400 |
| Bushels of Wheat Exported | 5,000,000 | (approx.) | 46,000,000 |
| * | | | |



Canadian Pacific Railway

WHERE WHEAT IS KING

The elevators on the prairie sky line and the stooks of wheat are the symbols of the great wealth which pours from the prairies to give a tonic to business all over Canada.

States at an alarming rate. Business was bad. French Catholics and English Protestants were hostile to each other. John A.'s long labours seemed to be ending in failure.

But in the '90's, Canada's turn for the better came. The best American lands were used up. Europe's growing cities wanted more foodstuffs. The price of wheat rose. Thousands from Europe wanted to start afresh in a new land.

Laurier and the Liberals took up Macdonald's task of building a Canadian nation. If you look again at the figures for 1896 and 1911, you will see why Canadians in Laurier's day were full of enthusiasm, energy and high hopes.

Wheat the King of the Prairies. The opening of the Canadian west in the first years of the twentieth century gave a tonic to almost every business in every part of Canada. The coal mines and the steel mills of the Maritimes, the machinery and clothing factories of Ontario and Quebec, the logging camps and saw-mills of British Columbia, all produced their goods at top speed to pour them into the west

To pay for these goods, the western farmers sold their grains and live-stock to other Canadians and to Europeans. But the best moneymaker by far was the fine-quality western wheat. "Manitoba No. I Hard" became the most famous wheat in the world and was accepted as the standard top-quality grade in the wheat-markets of Europe.

Prairie wheat's deadly enemy,

Jack Frost, had been beaten by the patient experiments of William Saunders and his son, Charles. Their discovery of sturdy Marquis wheat had made it possible and profitable to grow crops much farther north without fear of frost-killing. Western Canada paid its way by ever-increasing harvests of Marquis wheat.

Well might newspaper cartoonists draw a sheaf of wheat with a crown on top to represent western Canada, for the bread-making grain was King of the Prairies. The Golden West gave its treasure with a generous hand to all Canada.

Laurier increased Canada's independence. Ever since Confederation, some Canadians had been prophesying that unless their country remained securely under Britain's protecting wing, it would some day have to join the United States. Others seemed to wish Canada to break away from the Empire. Most Americans thought that it was only a matter of time until the Stars and Stripes flew over the whole North American continent.

Laurier, like Macdonald before him, did not agree with any of these ideas. He firmly believed that Canada should stay in the Empire. But just as firmly, he claimed that Canada must have increasing control over her own affairs. Some people believed that both of these were impossible—how could Canada be a part of Britain and yet decide her own affairs for herself?

The answer to this question was slowly worked out at Imperial Conferences. At these gatherings in



Drawing by Julien, Public Archives of Canada

SIR WILFRID LAURIER
His great contribution was his firm belief
that the good of the country must come
before the wishes of small groups.

London, the Premiers of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa met to talk over the Empire's problems. The British government now wanted one government over the whole Empire. Laurier took the lead in opposing this idea. He insisted on Canada's right to govern herself.

Here, then, was the idea for the great British Commonwealth that we know today. Not one nation and her obedient colonies but a group of equal nations, each deciding its own affairs yet united in loyalty to the king. The Commonwealth was not officially set up until after Laurier's death. However, a good share of the credit belongs to Canada's great French Canadian Prime Minister.

"No truck or trade with the Yankees!" Half a century before Laurier's time, Canada had a Reciprocity Treaty with the United
States. Trade flourished as goods
flowed freely across the border.
Canada prospered. Americans, angry with Britain, had ended the
treaty after the Civil War. Ever
since then, Canadians had hankered for reciprocity again, only to
see American tariffs rising higher
and higher against Canadian goods.

Suddenly, in 1911, the United States offered reciprocity to Canada. To Laurier and the Liberals, this seemed unbelievably good luck. They hastened to make the most

of their good fortune.

The Conservatives at first did not know whether they should oppose or support the idea of reciprocity. Then slowly opposition began to develop to the reciprocity idea. Canadian manufacturers protested, since American goods would come in without paying customs duties and take business from Canadian factories. Some Americans said that reciprocity would bring Canada into union with the United States. Canadians were none too friendly towards the United States at this time because they felt that the Americans had acted unfairly in several disputes over boundary lines.

Hopes rose in the Conservative camp. The people's distrust of their big neighbour was summed up in the slogan, "No truck or trade with the Yankees!" Conservative speakers in Ontario waved the Union Jack vigorously and gave

rousing speeches about loyalty to Britain.

At the polls in 1911, Canadian electors voted out Laurier and voted in the Conservatives. They had shown their independence by turning down the offer of the United States. But in doing so, they had lost as Prime Minister one of the great men in Canada's history.

Canada had changed greatly under Macdonald and Laurier. When Laurier was speaking to the House of Commons after the death of the first Prime Minister, he said: "The life of Sir John Macdonald, from the date he entered Parliament, is the history of Canada." With equal truth, the same statement could be applied to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

It was Sir John's great gift to see. clearly what others saw dimly or not at all, that Canada, as a country of several races, two languages, and two religious faiths, must try to balance the demands of each section. Sir Wilfrid's great work was to contribute to the course of harmony and unity between the two great language groups. Here is his famous statement of the purpose of his political life: "If there is one thing to which I have given my political life it is to try to promote unity and harmony and amity between the diverse elements of this country. My friends may desert me, they can withdraw the trust which they have placed in my hands, but never shall I deviate from that line of policy, whatever may be the consequences, whether loss of prestige, loss of popularity, loss of power." Both



Canadian Pacific Railway

NEW SETTLERS FOR CANADA

During the years before the first World War, settlers from all countries of Europe poured into Canada, attracted by cheap land and the hope of a fuller life.

men also worked steadily to increase Canada's independence while keeping her within the Empire. Both are entitled to honoured places amongst the Fathers of the British Commonwealth.

A Canadian who left the country in 1867 would scarcely have recognized it had he returned in 1911. The little colony of 3,000,000 people and four provinces in the east, had grown to over 7,000,000 people

and nine provinces stretching from ocean to ocean. The geography of a rugged half-continent had been conquered.

There were black marks on the record which might cause trouble later. But Canadians in 1911 felt justified in looking backward with pride and forward with confidence. They agreed with the great Laurier who proclaimed that "the twentieth century will be Canada's."

Chapter 7-Canada Came of Age During Two World Wars

Canada won her spurs as a nation in World War I. All along the trench, men waited quietly, tensely. The officer looked at his wrist watch; 5:29 a.m., one minute to go! Rain clouds hid the rising sun, but in the growing light the officer gave a last glance through the drizzle at the scene in front. A field ripped and torn by bursting shells and mines: hundreds of craters filled with cold rainwater: then the rising ground covered with barbed wire, dotted with concrete machine-gun posts, cut by long trenches. Beyond the enemy lines, the great prize, Vimy Ridge! Rising high above the plain in Northern France, the Ridge was one of the key positions on the long front running from the English Channel to Switzerland. The German troops in the tunnels and trenches of the Ridge had orders to defend their position at all costs, to the last man. Capture the Ridge! That was the task given to the Canadian Corps that Easter Monday, April 9, 1917.

Zero hour! At 5:30 a.m. to the second, hundreds of Canadian soldiers leaped out of the trenches, and charged towards the German lines with the wind-driven rain on their backs and the rattling machine-guns in front.

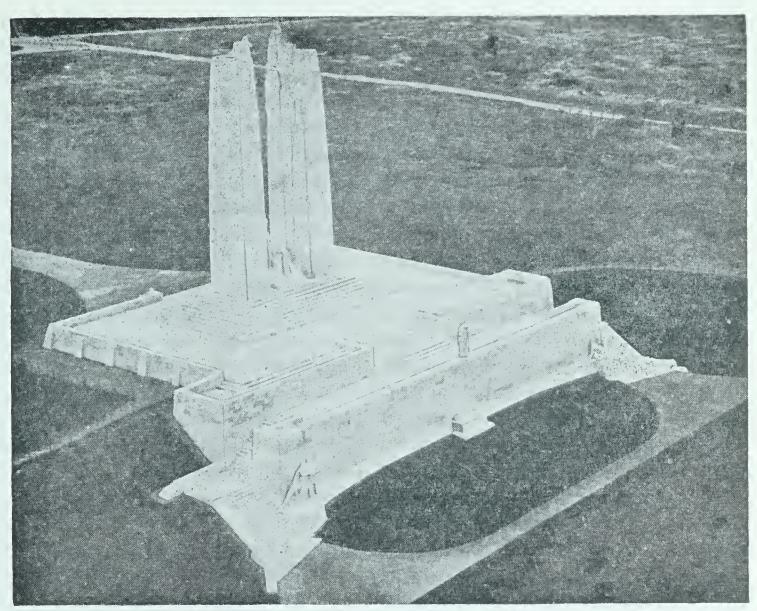
Up the slippery slopes went the Canadians dodging around the shell-holes and through the barbed wire. Many fell in the mud, killed or wounded. But still the charge went on. Within forty minutes, the

Canadians had killed, captured or put to flight all the Germans in the first line of trenches. By 10:00 p.m., after a desperate day's fighting in rain, sleet and snow, the commander, General Byng, could send the proud message: the Canadian Corps held Vimy Ridge!

The capture of the Ridge and other successful attacks by British and French soldiers nearby, made this battle the greatest Allied victory on the Western Front up to that time, after two and a half years of ghastly trench warfare. King George V sent a telegram: "Canada will be proud that the taking of the coveted Vimy Ridge has fallen to the lot of her troops."

Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, declared: "For the remainder of the war, the Canadians were brought along to head the assault in one great battle after another. Whenever the Germans found the Canadian Corps coming into the line they prepared for the worst." Such was the reputation gained by Canada's fighting men during World War I. It was enhanced by the marvellous exploits of 8,000 Canadians in the Royal Air Force, including Col. "Billy" Bishop who shot down more enemy planes than any other Allied flyer. But the cost was heavy. Fifty thousand of Canada's finest young men died in France and Flanders. Almost 200,000 were wounded.

Those who remained at home



National Film Board

THE VIMY MEMORIAL

The great memorial at Vimy in France was erected to the Canadian soldiers who fought and died in the mud with a gallantry that gave the name "Canadian" a new and proud meaning.

did amazing feats in producing guns and shells, ships and food. New factories sprang up by the dozen.

Canada faced new problems with the war's end. The end of the war, for Canada as for many other nations, meant the end of an age. During the war a great deal of talk was heard about the kind of world that there would be after the conflict. It was to be a "brave new world," a world "fit for heroes to live in." But Canadians, looking at the world about them in 1920, were not very happy about the shape it seemed to be taking. There was unrest in every section of the na-

tional life. During the closing years of the war it had become necessary to conscript men for service in the army. This policy had angered the people of French Canada and the unity of the country seemed threatened. In the west the end of the war brought the end of good prices for farm products, particularly wheat, and the loss of overseas markets. Factories which had turned out munitions of war closed down, causing unemployment. Among the workers there was a feeling of injustice because a few people during the war had made great fortunes. The Russian Revolution of 1917 had its effect

on the thinking of the people in Canada and added to the general unrest of the workers. In addition Canada's new position on the international stage was the cause of uneasiness among many Canadians. It would have been difficult for anyone in 1920 to say what Canada would be like thirty years later.

Yet, from this unpromising beginning Canada, in the thirty years that followed, made great strides forward. Thirty years later, with most of its internal problems on the way to being solved, our country was playing an important if minor part in the world's affairs. It is likely that the history books of the future will give to the period covered by these thirty years the name of the man who during all that time took the most important part in the government of our land. His name was W. L. Mackenzie King.

A Prime Minister says good-bye. One November day in 1948 an elderly gentleman sat in an office in the East Block of the Parliament buildings in Ottawa talking to newspaper reporters. Earlier that morning he had presided over his last meeting with the Cabinet. Now he was giving his last press conference. There was not much to say. He told the newspapermen that he was pleased that "this long period of public service has drawn to a close in the very satisfactory way that I believe it has." A reporter asked him what he considered the proudest memory of his public life. He answered immediately, "It is keeping this nation united through a period of war." Finally he told them, "I think my day's work is done." He said goodbye to the newspapermen, then got into a car and drove to Rideau Hall. After twenty-one years as Prime Minister of Canada, Mackenzie King was about to tender his resignation to the Governor-General.

Almost thirty years earlier Mackenzie King had been chosen leader of the Liberal party to succeed the great Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As we have seen, 1919 was a year of social and political unrest. The new leader seemed to have the qualifications to meet these conditions. He had been trained in social service and had carried out social projects both in the United States and Canada. In labour matters he had had practical experience, first as Deputy Minister, then as Minister of Labour in Laurier's Cabinet. Finally, he was the grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie who had fought the Family Compact in 1837.

Mackenzie King lacked the personal charm of his two great predecessors, Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and unlike them he was never able to inspire in his followers a deep personal devotion. But he knew better than anyone else the art of governing Canada and he showed an astounding gift for winning elections. When he became its leader his party was out of power. Two years later he had won his first election. He was to be Prime Minister of Canada for almost twenty-one of the years that followed.

Canada, as we have seen, might well have been six countries and each of the divisions into which our country falls has special interests. Canadians are divided into two language groups and have two religious faiths. In their occupations the people of our country are partly agricultural, partly industrial, or they work with the products of the forests, the mines, and the seas. Whoever governs Canada must know how to please, to some extent, all these groups. That was the gift possessed by Mackenzie King. He was a great compromiser.

Of the many developments which took place during the Mackenzie King era, the three most important for our story of Canada were the progress made by our country on its road to nationhood, the establishment of friendly relations with the United States, and the advance of Canada into the northland.

Canada is a Commonwealth country. By the time that the first World War broke out Canada was mistress in her own home. But outside the country, in her relations with other nations, she was still guided by Great Britain. The British Parliament could still pass laws for Canada, and could refuse to permit a Canadian Act to go into effect. Acts of the Canadian Parliament could have no force outside Canada. Control of Canada's affairs with other nations was exercised by Great Britain. Canada could not sign treaties for herself, and had no representatives in the capitals of foreign nations. It is true that Great Britain rarely exercised any of these privileges. But she had the right to do so.

So when Great Britain declared

war on Germany in 1914 Canada and the other Dominions were automatically at war. Almost from the beginning the new spirit of independence made itself felt. When Canada sent soldiers to the Boer they had been enlisted, equipped, trained and paid by the British government. In 1914 Canada proposed to equip and pay her own soldiers. Great Britain planned to use the Canadian soldiers as reinforcements for Imperial regiments. Canada refused to permit this and organized the Canadian Corps which was used as a unit in action. But though the Corps was Canadian, Canada had no say in how or where it might be used until the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, was made a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, meeting in London, which directed the war effort for all the Dominions. Robert Borden was the Prime Minister whose party had defeated Laurier's Liberals in 1911. Though the two men disagreed on many points, both were firm in their belief that Canada must manage her own affairs, and not allow them to be managed for her, by Britain or any other country. At the end of the war Borden insisted that Canada should sign the peace treaty as a separate nation. In the same way our country became a member of the League of Nations which was set up following the war.

When the war was over Britain continued to direct the relations of all the Dominions with other countries on the understanding that they should be kept informed of all developments and consulted on

every step. Almost immediately after Mackenzie King became Prime Minister Britain was forced to act hurriedly in a matter which might have involved not only that country but Canada in a war with Turkey. Canada had not been informed of events and Mr. King refused to move, or even to summon Parliament to discuss the matter until all information was in the possession of the Cabinet.

The very next year, as if to emphasize the fact that our country now proposed to conduct its own affairs with other nations, Canada signed a treaty with the United States. Canada's representatives and not the British ambassador signed for Canada. Two years later when Great Britain signed a treaty with a number of European nations, a clause was added which said that this treaty did not apply to the British Dominions.

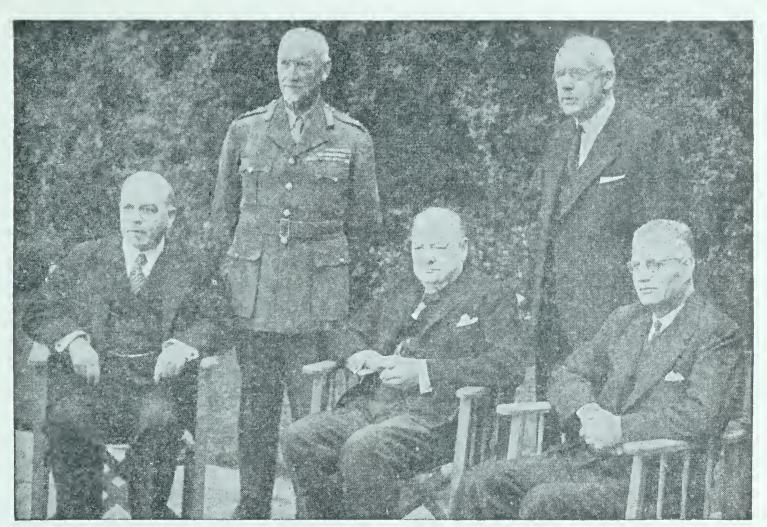
Since other Dominions had been taking similar steps, it was decided to hold an Imperial Conference in 1926 to discuss the relations between the Dominions and Great Britain. For the first time an effort was made to define what the Commonwealth and what each Dominion was. The Commonwealth, said the Report read at the Conference, "defies classification and bears no real resemblance to any other political organization that now exists or has ever yet been tried." Then came the famous sentence, "They are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external

affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of nations." There followed a significant statement, "Every self-governing member of the Empire is now the master of its destiny."

Several other matters were settled at the Imperial Conference. The Governor-General was to be considered as the king's representative in the Dominion, and not the agent of the British government. It was established, too, that Canada could not be bound by a treaty which she did not herself sign.

The same year Canada appointed her first envoy and minister to the United States and in the following years Canadian envoys were sent to Paris and Tokyo. To Great Britain and the other Dominions Canada sent High Commissioners. Today Canada has representatives in most of the great capitals of the world.

It now remained only to sum up and make legal all the steps that had been agreed upon by the Dominions. In 1931 the House of Commons in London passed the Statute of Westminster. From that date no Act of the British government could apply in Canada unless Canada specifically asked that it should. Canada, for her part, could pass any Act that she wished, even if it was not in the best interests of Great Britain. The proof of how far Canada was now an independent nation came when the second World War broke out. Great Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, but Canada was



Miller Services

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE, 1944

The growing importance of the Dominions in the affairs of the British Commonwealth is shown by this photograph of the Imperial Conference called in 1944 to discuss conduct of the war. From left to right are seen Rt. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King of Canada, Field Marshall J. C. Smuts of South Africa, Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, the United Kingdom, Rt. Hon. Peter Fraser, New Zealand, and Rt. Hon. John Curtin, Australia.

not considered to be at war. The Canadian Parliament was assembled and a declaration of war was not made until 10 September after Parliament had debated and voted on a matter which so seriously affected all Canadians.

A forgotten battle. At the close of a concert in the Music Hall in Toronto on 31 May, 1866 an officer of the Queen's Own Volunteers "advanced to the front of the platform and announced to all members of the Queen's Own present that they were to assemble in the Drill Shed at 6 o'clock next morning for Active Service." The following morning the Governor-General issued a proclamation call-

ing out all the volunteer forces of the Province of Canada. Throughout the day troops left Toronto by boat and railway heading for the front. By next day many of them were already in action. The battle which followed was short, sharp, and, if any battle can be, not without its comic side. The enemy was soon in full flight. Yet thirteen Canadians died and many others were wounded in repelling an invasion of Canada.

The amazing thing about this battle is that it took place on what is nowadays referred to as the undefended boundary between Canada and the United States. Though the invaders were Fenians, sympa-

thisers with the Irish in their fight against the British, their base was the United States, they were recruited there, and they made their raid from that country.

Nowadays Canadians are accustomed to cross into the United States without great difficulty and American cars by the thousands roll into our country every year. We all know some Americans and like them. We read American magazines, go to American movies, listen to American radios, and probably clean our teeth with American tooth powder. So it will surprise you to know that these pleasant and friendly relations with the United States are of comparatively recent date. Less than ninety years ago our relations were so bad that, as we have seen, it was possible for the Fenians to use the United States as a base for an attack on Canada.

Canada is an American country. We have already read how, during the American War of Independence, American troops made an attack on Canada in an effort to bring our country into the union. Another war, as we have seen, was fought in 1812 and again battles were fought between American and Canadian troops on Canadian soil. Fear that the Americans would step in and seize the Canadian west was one of the arguments for a confederation of the British colonies. It was the same fear which furnished one reason for the founding of the North-West Mounted Police and which caused Vancouver Island and British Columbia to be organized as Crown colonies.

One of Canada's great problems has always been how to get on with the great and powerful country with which she shares the North American continent. This problem has been complicated by the fact that Canada was first a British colony and later a member of the British Commonwealth. Even after relations between Great Britain and the United States improved the United States continued to consider our country as a very small brother of Great Britain and preferred to deal directly with the older country on matters which concerned Canada. This continued to be true even when a new and greater friendliness grew up between our two countries as a result of the first World War in which soldiers of Canada and the United States fought as allies. For example, at the Imperial Conference in 1921 there was a discussion on whether Great Britain should renew a treaty with Japan. Canadian Prime Minister, Meighen, opposed the renewal because it was not in the interests of the United States. Shortly after, the United States invited Japan and Great Britain to Washington to discuss some matters important to all three countries. No invitation was sent to Canada. Though Canada was an interested party the United States believed that the invitation to Great Britain was enough.

Two good neighbours worked side by side in peace and war. It was not until Franklin D. Roosevelt became President of the United States that a new friendliness

entered into the relations between Canada and that country. Roosevelt believed in what he called the Good Neighbour policy and the United States had no closer or better neighbour than Canada. So our country and the United States entered into trade agreements which helped both. These good relations in trade were carried over into politics. In 1938 when the danger of another war with Germany was clearly seen, President Roosevelt, during a visit to Canada, and speaking to a Canadian audience, made a clear and important promise. "The Dominion of Canada," he said, "is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire." Speaking for Canada, a few days later, Mackenzie King gave a similar promise of Canadian help if the United States should be attacked. When the war broke out both countries kept their promises. In 1940, though the United States still was not at war, a Permanent Joint Defence Board, composed of Canadians and Americans, was set up to consider the defence of North America. Less than a year later an agreement reached between the President and the Prime Minister permitted Canada to purchase material in the United States more easily. When, in December 1941, Japan began the war with the United States Canada's position was immediately made clear. Before either the United States or Great Britain, Canada



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THE UNDEFENDED BOUNDARY

This simple marker, where Minnesota joins Manitoba, is the best evidence of the friendliness that has marked the relations between Canada and her powerful neighbour.

was the first ally to declare war on Japan. Canadian territory was made available for the training and supply of American troops. The Alaska Highway was built over Canadian territory, and a chain of air bases was constructed across the Canadian north. Once more American soldiers were in Canada, but this time it was as allies and friends.

The good neighbourliness and friendship of the war years have carried over into the peace and speak well for the future. When the war was over Canada immediately signed agreements with the United States to purchase American-built facilities on Canadian soil. This action was significant for



Royal Canadian Air Force

THE ALASKA HIGHWAY

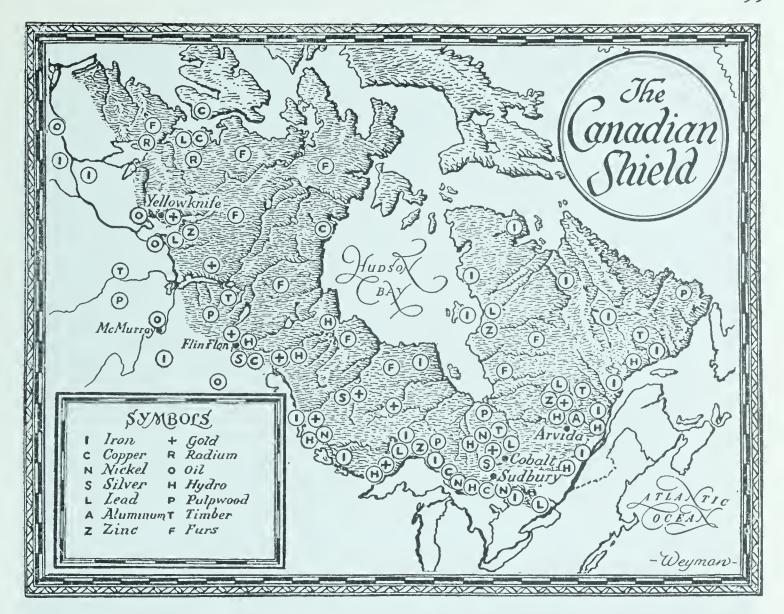
The building of the Alaska Highway was a modern epic, and a triumph of co-operation between Canada and the United States. It runs across 1523 miles of country like that pictured above. Started early in 1942, it was completed less than two years later. Maintenance of the road is now the duty of Canada.

it gave notice of what Canada thought her relations with the United States should be. Our country was and is anxious to co-operate with the United States on all matters that are of importance to both countries so that both should benefit. At the same time our country insists that she is an independent nation, as independent of the United States as she now is of Great Britain, and that she must be treated as an equal partner in all undertakings in which she, Great Britain, and the United States may engage.

Canada also maintains good relations with the countries of South America. It is impossible here to deal at length with the relations which exist between our country and the other republics of the Western Hemisphere. Perhaps it is sufficient

to say only that Canada is fully aware of her position and responsibility as an American country and is doing her best to establish and keep good relations with the other countries of the Hemisphere. Trade and cultural agreements have been signed with Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. From this good beginning great hopes for the future are held.

The true north, strong and free. We have already read how the coming of the railways made it possible to link up all the sections of Canada and to pour settlers into what had been the almost uninhabited west. In the years after the first World War the gasoline engine began to play as important a part in the development of Canada as the steam engine had once done. Automobiles, trucks, aeroplanes, motor boats, tractors and motor sleighs.



THE NEW FRONTIER

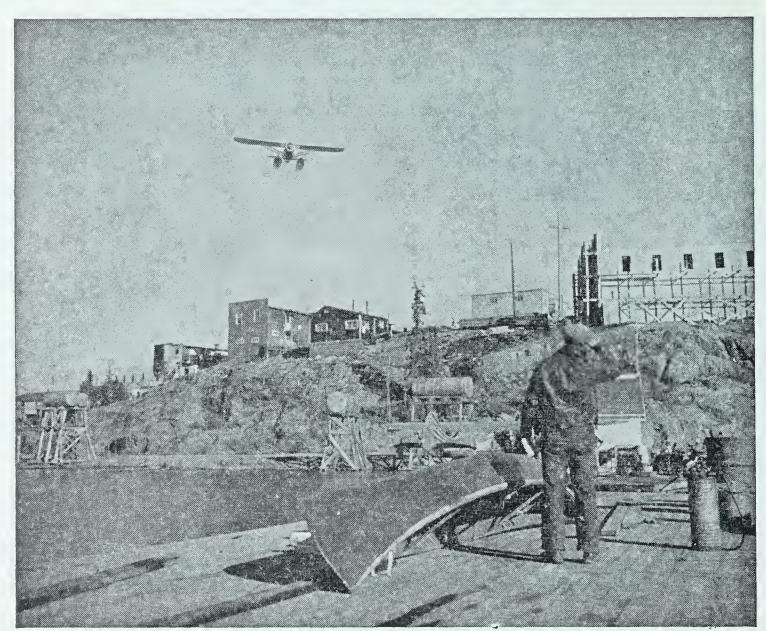
What the prairies were to Canada before the first World War, the Canadian Shield has become since the use of the aeroplane has been more common. This map shows the great natural wealth of Canada's northland. For what products is each of the towns named on the map most famous?

were used much more than they had been and their use made it possible for Canadians to begin to exploit the great wealth that lay in Canada's northland.

The Canadian Shield lies in a great triangle around both sides of Hudson Bay. On the map on this page you will see how much of Canada it covers, about 1,500,000 square miles, or half of the area of our country. To the north it reaches to the pole; in Ontario and part of Quebec it runs south of the border into the United States. On the west it extends into northern Saskatchewan, north-eastern Alberta, and the

Northwest Territories; on the east to Labrador. It is a wonderful land of rocks and rivers, falls and rapids, trees and lakes, a paradise for the hunter and fisherman. Its population is small and its settlements scattered. Agriculture is almost impossible and living is difficult and expensive. Yet in the future of Canada the north may play the role that the west played in the closing years of the last century and the opening years of this one.

Canada is an Arctic country. There is great wealth in the Canadian Shield. Gold at Yellowknife in the Northwest Territories has brought



Department of Resources and Development

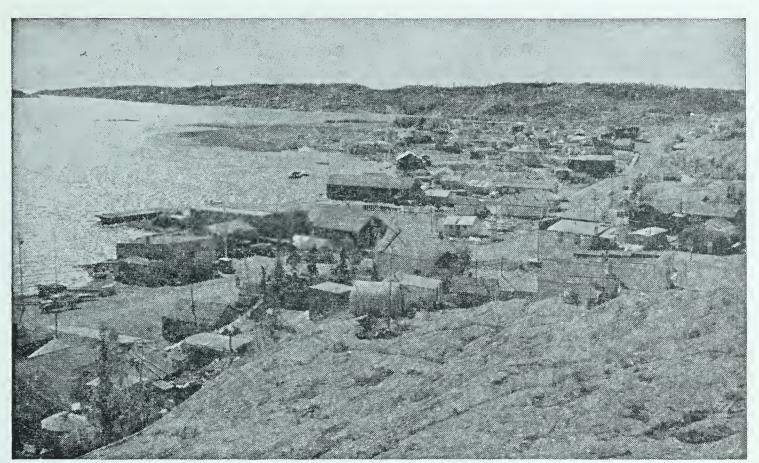
THE NEW MEETS THE OLD

The canoe which served the early explorers and fur traders in their task of opening up the interior of Canada still plays its part in the development of the north. That development, however, would have been almost impossible but for the greater use of the aeroplane after World War I. This photograph shows the old and new methods of travel.

into existence the largest single settlement in the Canadian north. Iron deposits of exceptional quality and extent have been found in Labrador, oil in the valley of the Mackenzie River, and radium and uranium at Great Bear Lake. You will find all these places on the map on p. 199.

It was from the Canadian Shield that the hunters and trappers of Canada's early days took the great wealth in furs on which Canada's prosperity depended. Until the end of the first World War the fur trade was still the principal industry of the north and in some areas it still is. When lumbering began to replace fur trading, again it was the Shield which provided the new form of wealth.

In the years after the first World War the newspapers in the United States and Canada required great quantities of wood-pulp for paper. Sources in the United States were almost exhausted. More and more, Canada was called upon to supply the demand. The pulp and paper industry moved into Canada's



Department of Resources and Development

SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTH

Living in the north is difficult and expensive but the Canadian Shield maintains at least one fair-sized settlement. This is Yellowknife, its tents and shacks nestling on the waterfront of Great Slave Lake. Until gold was found there, Yellowknife was a fur trading post. It now has a population of over twelve hundred.

north. Here the rapids and rivers of the Shield furnished a cheap and plentiful source of hydro electric power. The paper mills are now an important part of Canada's industry. They are scattered across the country from Newfoundland to British Columbia, but they are to be found in their greatest numbers in eastern Canada along the Saguenay, St. Maurice, and Ottawa rivers. The hydro electric developments in the Shield furnish a plentiful and cheap source of power for the factories and industries of Ontario and Quebec.

It had long been known that the Shield contained precious metals but, except in the south, the great distances and the difficulties of transportation made it almost impossible to mine them. The coming

of the aeroplane changed all that. Someone has said that the history of the Canadian north can be divided into two periods-before and after the aeroplane. Aeroplanes equipped with skis or pontoons began to make freight flights into the north and the lakes and frozen wastes which made ordinary transport so difficult formed excellent landing fields. New and improved mining machinery was flown in; loads of ore were carried out. Canada, as we already know, was for many years the leading country in the world in the quantity of freight carried by air.

We have read that the shortest routes from America to either Europe or Asia lie across Canada's northland. Already in the north Canada is maintaining weather and medical services and army and airforce units are experimenting with engines in the Arctic climate. It is likely that the Arctic area will play an important part in the history of the future. If that should happen Canada's experience of pioneering, exploring, and settling in the north should prove of the greatest value.

It has been convenient for us to consider here, in one place, the principal achievements of our country during the thirty years that have come to be known as the Mackenzie King era. But before it arrived at the place which it occupies in the world today, Canada had to endure dark days of drought and depression and was to play an important role in a second World War.

Drought, depression, and debt. short depression followed the first World War. But soon the people of North America entered upon an exciting period of good times that lasted for ten years. Wages were high, crops were good, and there was plenty of work for everyone. Automobiles, as we have seen, came into more general use, and so did radios, aeroplanes, motion pictures, refrigerators, washing machines, tractors, combines, and a host of other machines, all made for man's use and pleasure. Prosperity reached a new height. It is little wonder that the name, the "Golden Twenties," is often used to refer to the years between 1920 and 1929.

The end of the "Golden Twenties" came with dramatic suddenness in October, 1929. Prices of shares in large companies tumbled down with alarming speed at New York.

Canada had become so closely connected with American business that prices of shares in Canadian companies fell just as quickly. Factories closed. Stores couldn't sell their goods and went out of business. Hundreds of thousands of people could find no jobs.

The Liberals, under Mackenzie King, had held office for most of the 1920's, but in 1930 they were defeated. R. B. Bennett headed a Conservative government which promised to end unemployment.

But the government at Ottawa found that it could do little in the fight against a depression which was not local, but affected the entire world. Canadians were beginning to realize that their country, a seller of grain and manufactured goods to other nations, could prosper only when the whole world was prosperous.

To make matters worse, the prairies, during those years, suffered from a great drought. For weeks the hot sun blazed down. Almost no rain fell. The wheat shrivelled up and died. The dry soil was blown away in great dust storms. Many of the western farms were on lands which should never have been used, since the usual weather was too dry. Drought brought misery, poverty and near-starvation to thousands of farmers. They were even worse off than the people without jobs in the cities.

Governments had to pay reliefmoney to keep people from starving. In the worst times of 1933, almost half the population of Canada had no jobs and no money. All governments, in municipalities,



DROUGHT IN THE WEST

Canada suffered doubly during the 1930's because to the world depression was added the worst drought ever experienced in this country. The scene above shows the scanty herds foraging for food on the once rich prairies.

provinces and at Ottawa, went heavily into debt to pay the cost of relief.

The golden dream of the twenties had become a nightmare in the thirties. After 1933, conditions slowly improved. However, it was not until the second World War began in 1939 that Canada again had real prosperity.

Mars polished his sword, 1931-39. While Canada and the other democracies spent less and less on armies and navies during the depression, Germany, Italy and Japan were spending more and more. When the despotic rulers of these countries began attacking their neighbours after 1935, the League of Nations, which had been formed in the hope of preventing future wars, scolded loudly but could take no action. The European democra-

cies were unwilling to send troops to help the countries attacked. The United States was not even in the League. Canada, whether under Bennett or under Mackenzie King, who returned as Prime Minister in 1935, was equally anxious to avoid war, if possible.

It is easy to understand how anxious the people of Britain, France and Canada were to avoid war. But as it turned out, by giving the dictators what they wanted in the hope of preventing a conflict, the democracies were plunging more rapidly into a second World War.

Finally the Germans, led by their dictator, Adolf Hitler, invaded Poland in August, 1939. Britain and France could no longer stand idly by, or their own turn to be conquered would soon come.

Canada speedily joined her allies in declaring war on Germany. Thus the sorry tale of twenty-one years' vain search for peace and prosperity was ended with the roar of guns and bombs.

Canada has a proud record. "Sub ahead!" The excited report suddenly broke the dull monotony of the routine flight over the grey wastes of the northern seas in June, 1944. Flight Lieutenant David E. Hornell, R.C.A.F., captain and pilot of the big fourmotored aircraft, dived at the submarine at once, for here was a rare opportunity. Often many days passed without a chance to attack one of these undersea raiders which sank hundreds of ships by torpedo during the five-year Battle of the Atlantic.

The German gunners put up a hot fire. Hornell flew through the hail of bullets to drop his depth charges. The plane was severely damaged. Flames broke out. Still Hornell returned to the attack. Finally the sub was sunk. But the plane was in flames. It could not hope to return to its base in Iceland.

Twelve-foot waves made a landing extremely dangerous. With great skill and calmness, Hornell brought the crippled plane down safely. The crew at once tossed out the two rubber dinghies but one exploded. Only one four-man rubber boat was left for all eight crew members. Hornell and three others hung on at the sides, up to their necks in frigid northern waters. Rescuers did not reach the survivors for twenty-one hours,

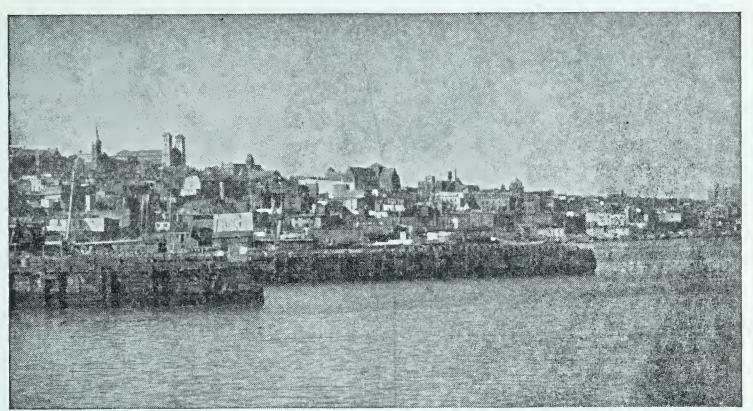
owing to the high seas. Shortly before they arrived, Hornell lost consciousness and later died.

The Victoria Cross, the highest decoration for valour in the Commonwealth was awarded to Flight Lieutenant Hornell the next month "for great gallantry and devotion to duty."

The story of David Hornell is an example of the splendid way Canada's soldiers, sailors and airmen performed their duties in World War II. The costly landing at Dieppe, the long Italian campaign, the tremendous assault on the beaches of Normandy, the hard-fought battles of the Atlantic, the bombing of Germany—young Canadians in all these struggles carried on the fine fighting traditions built up by their fathers in World War I.

The rising tide of Canada's trade. Not only on the battlefields did Canadians make a great effort to help the United Nations to victory. Those at home performed near-miracles in producing a flood of aircraft, tanks, guns, shells, ships, radios, and hundreds of other goods needed in modern warfare. Scores of new factories were built. Farmers set new records of food production for the huge armies and for the hungry allied nations of Europe.

Canada stands 27th amongst the countries of the world in population. Yet in 1947, she stood third in the amount of goods sold to other countries, only the United States and Great Britain exporting more. In quantity of goods bought from other countries, Canada stood



Canadian National Steamships

THE CAPITAL OF NEWFOUNDLAND

The pattern of sea and settlement that is repeated all along the coastline of Newfoundland appears even in its capital, St. John's. The largest city on the island, its population is over fifty thousand. It is the centre of the fishing industry which is still the principal industry in Newfoundland.

fourth. Before World War II, she ranked fifth among exporters and

eighth among importers.

The war brought about a great change in Canada and in the life of every Canadian. Though in the years between the wars both her industry and her trade had made strides forward, Canada, when she declared war on Germany in 1939, was still largely an agricultural country. Agriculture continued to occupy an important part in our country's life; but Canada emerged from the war as an industrial and trading nation. In the years which immediately followed, the task of restoring the countries in which the fighting had done damage kept Canada's factories busy and her ships crossing the ocean with their cargoes of goods made in Canada.

An old colony becomes a new province. On 31 March, 1949, a ceremony took place on Parliament Hill in Ottawa whose simplicity gave little indication of its importance. The new Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Louis St. Laurent, made a short speech. Then he tapped with hammer and mallet on a blank stone shield which stood amongst the shields of the nine provinces over the Peace Tower arch. A band played "God Save the King," "Ode to Newfoundland," and "O Canada" and a guard of honour presented arms.

At exactly the same time, more than a thousand miles away in St. John's, Newfoundland, a similar ceremony was taking place. It lasted only a few minutes. When it was over the number of provinces in Canada was no longer nine, but ten. Britain's oldest colony had become Canada's newest prov-

ince.

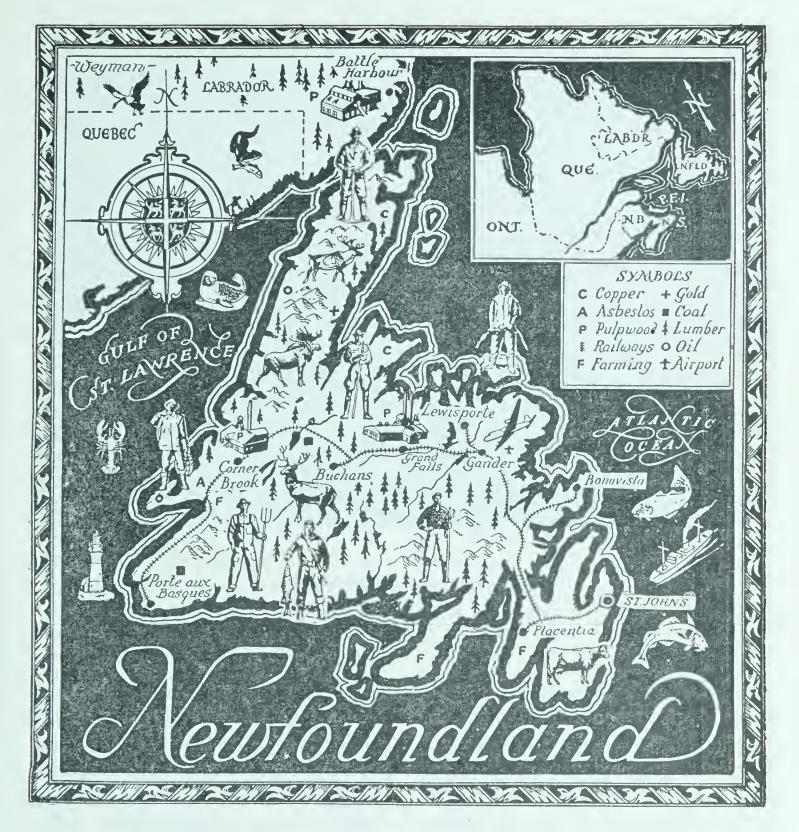
As we saw in Chapter 5, delegates from Newfoundland attended the Quebec Conference in 1864 to discuss Confederation with the other colonies. But when the question was submitted to the voters it was turned down. Negotiations were re-opened in 1885 and again in 1895, but on both occasions Newfoundland decided, after consideration of the terms offered, to continue its existence as a separate and independent country. To understand why the people of Newfoundland changed their minds and decided to become Canadians we must know something of the story of Britain's oldest colony.

Fish brought the people of Europe across the Atlantic to Newfoundland. We already know that John Cabot was probably the discoverer of Newfoundland in the year 1497. Cabot had sailed in the service of the merchants of Bristol hoping to find the westward passage to Asia, that fabled land of gold and precious stones and rich spices. Of these he found none; but though he was not aware of it, he did bring back news of a source of wealth and trade which was to be important not only to the Bristol merchants who had financed his voyage but to the future of the "New-Found-Land." Cabot reported that the banks off the coast of Newfoundland swarmed with cod fish.

Within a few years of the voyage of John Cabot fishermen of many nations were making annual voyages across the Atlantic to Cabot's "New-Found-Land." There were Englishmen from the west coast sent out by the Bristol merchants;

but there were also Spaniards, Portuguese, and French sailors from Normandy and Brittany. England believed that she had the best claim to the island by right of Cabot's discovery; Spain and France disputed that claim. It was not until 1713 that Britain gained an undisputed title to the island, and even then the French retained some fishing rights there.

Settlement in Newfoundland was not encouraged. No one, in the beginning at least, seemed to have any wish to settle the new colony. The Bristol merchants were content to exploit "the mine of wealth," as the fisheries proved to be. The British government's only interest in it was to use its waters and the annual voyages of the fishing fleet as a training ground for sailors. As early as 1630 the Lord Treasurer of England was directed, "to erect a common fishery as a nursery for seamen." Since all that was required of Newfoundland was to supply annually shiploads of fish and a quota of trained seamen, the only settlement necessary was whatever was required to protect the fisheries. Newfoundland, it was determined, should be "a great English ship moored near the Banks." Any effort at regular colonization might destroy the fisheries and interfere with the supply of sailors for the Royal Navy. In order to discourage settlement, regulations were passed which prohibited the transportation to Newfoundland of any persons except fishermen and compelled the return of all fishermen who travelled there. Houses might not be built

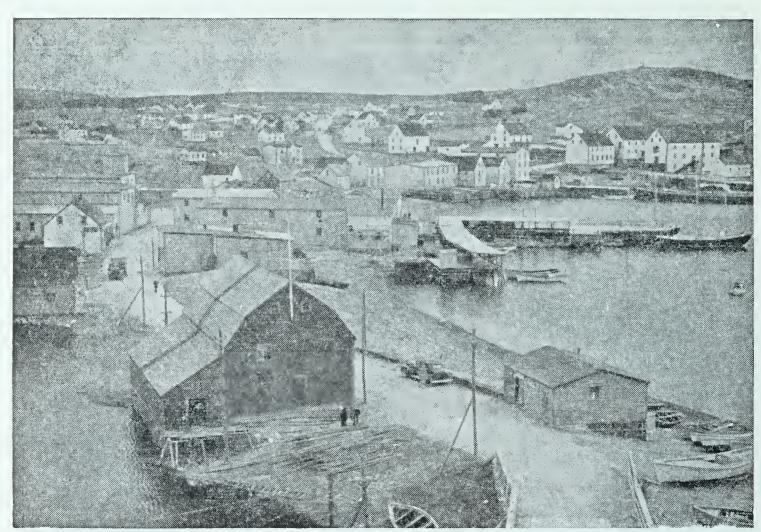


THE TENTH PROVINCE

From this picture map of Canada's tenth province, what are Newfoundland's basic industries? What section of the Canadian mainland is part of the island province? Which Maritime Province is Newfoundland's closest neighbour? Labrador is expected to be a source of great wealth both to Newfoundland and Canada. Why?

within six miles of the shore line nor might land be fenced off for farming. These restrictions were never really enforced. Ships' captains connived at transporting "passengers" to Newfoundland and most of these came to stay. As early as 1718 the government of Great Britain was complaining that

"the Navigation of this Kingdom has suffered exceedingly since the Transportation of Passengers has been connived at; and there can be no doubt that it has been one of the principal Causes of the Want of Seamen for Your Majesty's Service." At one time it was even suggested that to correct that situ-



Ruggles Photo. Newfoundland Tourist Development Office

THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

On page 78 we saw the picture of a fishing village in Brittany, with small farms in the background. This is the pattern of living which was reproduced in Newfoundland and which exists to this day. What was the reason for this type of settlement?

ation the entire population should be moved to Nova Scotia.

Settlement followed the coast line. Since fish played, and continues to play, such a large part in the life of the island, it is not surprising that it should have been fish that determined how Newfoundland should be settled. The first landings of any duration on the island were the result of the need for places on which to erect stages for the drying and curing of fish. Considerable space was needed for this and settlement spread out thinly along the coast. It was thickest where the fish could be had in the largest quantities and was grouped about bays and harbours where the fishing boats could be safely

anchored. This is the pattern of settlement in Newfoundland to this day. The average settlement contains less than five hundred people and there are almost twelve hundred such settlements. The only large city in Newfoundland is St. John's, the capital, which has a population of about 50,000.

When the fishing industry was no longer controlled from England but had its headquarters in the island, the fishermen began to settle on farms. The soil, however, was not fertile and where good soil appeared it did so in small patches. The clearing of land was difficult and expensive and the climate suitable for only a few crops. Today the farms are small in Newfound-

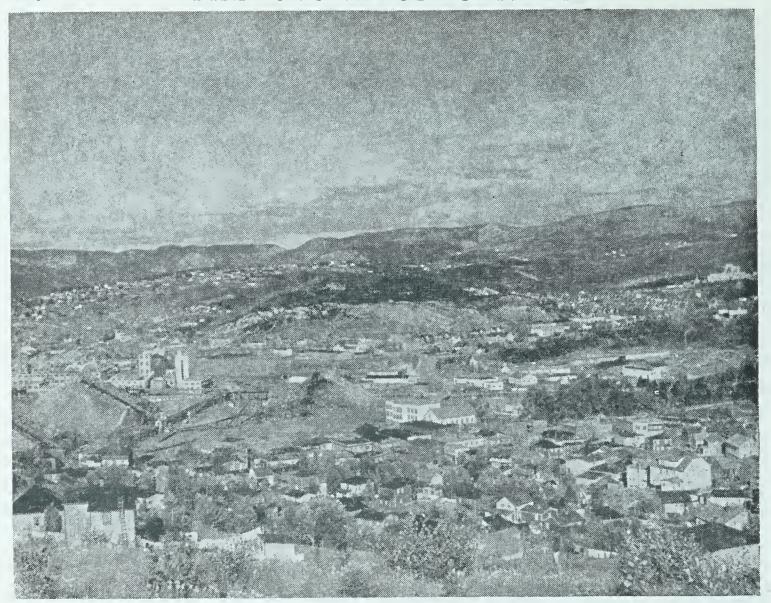
land, averaging perhaps one acre, while a five-acre farm is considered a very large one. Thus farming is not an industry in itself, only a means of supplementing the fisherman's income and adding to his diet.

Newfoundland, too, had a long struggle for responsible government. By 1765 the population of Newfoundland was about 12,000 and it did not greatly increase until the end of the wars with Napoleon in 1814. One of the results of these wars was to put an end to the annual voyages of the fishing fleets from England to the Banks and the industry was forced to move to the island where by 1814 it was well established. Three years later Great Britain recognized Newfoundland as a settled colony. By that date the colony had its own garrison, churches, courthouses, and government.

The earliest form of government that Newfoundland knew was the rule of the "Fishing Admirals." As we have seen, ships from the principal nations of Europe used to make annual trips to the Banks and it became the custom that the captain of the first ship to arrive on the Banks should be for that year the Admiral of the port. In that capacity he maintained order and dispensed justice. During the wars with France the fishing fleet was sent out in the convoy of ships of the Royal Navy, and the captain of the convoy assumed some of the functions of the Fishing Admirals, while regulations so limited others that eventually the institution vanished. After 1728 the commander of the convoy was officially named governor, but the island had only a government while the convoy was on the Banks. It was not until 1817 that the governor began to remain on the island the year round.

After that date the pattern of the development of government in Newfoundland closely followed that of Canada. Representative government was granted to the island in 1832 and by 1855, after a long and bitter agitation, it had reached the status of a self-governing colony. Rejecting Confederation, as we have seen, Newfoundland remained a self-governing colony until 1933. In that year the economic depression which prevented Newfoundland from exporting her products combined with unemployment to force a situation so grave that the country asked Great Britain to suspend, temporarily at least, responsible government and to rule the island by a commission. In other words, Newfoundland surrendered its right to self government and returned to the status of a colony.

The second World War brought some return of prosperity to Newfoundland. It became an Atlantic fortress in which Canadian, British, and American governments had established air and naval bases. At the end of the war the question of the form that Newfoundland's government should take was again raised. In 1946 the people were asked to send delegates to a conference where the question would be discussed. Three plans were discussed by the delegates: to retain commission government, to return



Canadian National Steamships

NEWFOUNDLAND HAS OTHER INDUSTRIES

For a long time fishing and some farming formed the background of Newfoundland's economy but in recent years other industries have begun to develop. This is the settlement of Corner Brook. Locate this town on the map on page 207. From the map try to determine the purpose of the factories shown in the picture.

to responsible government, or to become Canada's tenth province. In 1948 the people voted on these three questions. None gained a clear majority. Later the same year a second vote was held to choose between responsible government and federation with Canada. By a very small majority the people of Newfoundland chose Confederation. The war had proved that Canada needed Newfoundland as a part of its defence system. Newfoundland, on the other hand, remembered the distress that had accompanied the unemployment and depression of the thirties and

hoped by union with Canada to avoid a repetition of those tragic days.

The sea determines the life of the people. About three hundred thousand people live in Canada's newest province. There has been little immigration since the end of the last century, so the majority of the people are of native stock and are descended mostly from English, Irish, Scottish and French settlers. They have been made hardy and vigorous by constant conflict with the sea, their chief source of livelihood, and independent by their life in small settlements which are



Miller Services

Canada's Delegation to the United Nations

As a leader of the middle powers Canada's interest in the United Nations is a strong one. Here the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent who succeeded Rt. Hon. Mackenzie King as Prime Minister but who at that time was Minister for External Affairs (left) is shown with Canada's delegation at the London Conference in 1946.

isolated from one another for long periods during the winter. The best means of communication is still by sea, by fishing boats. Fishing and fishery products have always been, and still remain, the principal industry of Newfoundland, in which the majority of the population is engaged, but logging, lumbering, the manufacture of wood pulp, newsprint, and paper, and the mining of iron ore are other industries of the island. Gander airport, the terminus for transatlantic flights, is in Newfoundland. On the Canadian mainland Newfoundland also owns Labrador where there are valuable deposits of iron and where Goose Bay is located, at which, as we have seen, T.C.A. planes sometimes touch down on their flights from Montreal to Great Britain.

Canada's place in the post-war world. One of the main tasks on

a planet threatened by the fearful power of the atomic bomb is to build a world government which can prevent another great war. Canada has many reasons for taking a leading part in this all-important work.

Though it is large in area, Canada still has only a population of slightly more than 14,000,000. There are still many new areas to be developed and settled, forests to be cleared, and industries to be built up. Twice, in less than forty years, the task of developing our country has been interrupted by war, and a heavy load of debt has been piled on the shoulders of the Canadian people. Canada has no other wish than to be left alone to complete, in peace, the task of building the Canadian nation. But in this modern world no nation can live by itself alone. So Canada

must try to work in co-operation with all nations, especially those with similar aims.

Canada is a leading member of the British Commonwealth. She shares the North American continent with the world's most powerful nation. These twin loyalties, to her king and to her neighbour, often make Canada's path more difficult, as in the early days of World War II when the Commonwealth was in the fight and the United States was not.

In the years following the war Canadians have shared in the activities of the many organizations that were formed to prevent future wars and enable the nations of the world to work more closely together.

The government has been a staunch supporter of the United Nations organization, which is trying for success where the League of Nations failed. Similarly, Canada has signed the Atlantic Pact and has shared in the Marshall Plan for aid to Europe.

What is Canada's place in the post-war world? She is a full-grown nation with great quantities of food and goods for the war-weary peoples. She is a leader of the middle powers in the U.N. She has the power, therefore, to perform useful service to the world at large and to bring increased honour and happiness to her own citizens.

Chapter 8 — Canada Has Already Produced Some Fine Writers, Artists and Scientists

Canada inherits much from Britain and France. The ancestors of four out of every five Canadians were born and educated in the British Isles or France. As these people were transplanted from Europe to America, they brought with them their love of the great English and French writers and artists.

Canada's life has thus been made richer because Canadians have known and admired the plays of Shakespeare and Molière [moh' lyehr'], the paintings of Turner and Millet [mee'lay'], and novels of Charles Dickens and Victor Hugo.

Why is there no great Canadian writer? As we have seen from our

study of Canada's history, it is only in the 20th century that her citizens have begun to think and act as Canadians.

In the three-quarters of a century following Confederation, Canadians have been very busy building up the cities, mines, farms and factories of their wide Dominion. They have done a fine job in nation-making, but they have had little time for poetry, plays or paintings. With a powerful neighbour south of the border and good friends across the Atlantic Ocean, most Canadians have been content to read and enjoy the great works of famous Britons, Americans and French.

However, in the years to come, Canada will have great poets, playwrights and painters of her own. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation with its nation-wide radio programmes, the Canadian Press providing a nation-wide service to the newspapers, a Dominion Drama Festival held each year-all these are activities which give talented Canadians opportunities to show their work to their fellow-citizens, who are gradually gaining more pride in Canada's artistic achievements.

Canadians who came from many countries-Holland, Norway, Germany, Russia and others—have brought with them some of their famous songs and stories. These have also made Canada's life more interesting and colourful.

Perhaps someone who is reading this book in school today will grow up to become a great writer or painter, by using in a Canadian way many of the artistic ideas brought here from other lands.

The poets of Canada. Though our country has no great poet such as Shakespeare or Tennyson, yet there have been several Canadian poets who have done fine work. Two cousins, Charles G. D. Roberts and Bliss Carman from New Brunswick, wrote poems about our Canadian land. You will be interested to read "These Three Score Years" written by Roberts on Canada's 60th birthday, and "The Master of the Scud" in which Carman tells a boy-sailor's adventure on the Bay of Fundy.

A Canadian poet, John McCrae, wrote "In Flanders Fields" during

World War I, a poem which had an immediate popularity in all English-speaking countries. No doubt most of you are familiar with the yarns in verse of Robert W. Service, such as "The Shooting of Dan McGrew" and "The Cremation of Sam McGee." Other poets of the years before the second World War were Duncan Campbell Scott and Archibald Lampman. What they wrote was not great poetry but the theme of their poetry was the Canadian scene and the Canadian landscape, and their love for their country made much of their poetry appealing and moving.

Since the second World War a new group of Canadian poets has appeared. E. J. Pratt is perhaps the best known of these. His poetry is narrative and his poems, "Bré-beuf and His Brethren," "The Titanic," "Dunkirk," and "Behind the Log" have had a deserved popularity far beyond the shores of Canada. Another poet who is writing of Canada with new depth and feeling is Earle Birney.

Interesting Canadian novels. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Canadian authors have written a number of books which give interesting pictures of life in our country. Some of these are: "The Man from Glengarry" and "The Sky Pilot" by Ralph Connor; "The Golden Dog" by William Kirby; "Jalna" by Mazo de la Roche; "Maria Chapdelaine" by Louis Hémon [ay'mon]; "Three Came to Ville Marie" by Alan Sullivan; "Lives of the Hunted" (stories of animals), by Ernest Thompson Seton; "Anne of Green

Gables" by L. M. Montgomery; "Barometer Rising" by Hugh Mac-Lennan; and "His Majesty's Yankees" by Thomas Raddall. There are many others of interest.

Two famous humorists. Thomas Haliburton of Nova Scotia was Canada's first humorist. In 1836, he published a book called "The Clockmaker; or the Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville." Sam Slick is a pedlar travelling around Nova Scotia and Haliburton gives an amusing account of life in that province as seen

through his eyes.

Though he died in 1944, Stephen Leacock is still, perhaps, Canada's best known writer. A professor of economics at McGill University, Leacock wrote many funny sketches which have entertained thousands of people throughout the Englishspeaking world. You will enjoy his one long story—"Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town"-and his collections of short tales "Literary Lapses" and "Nonsense Novels."

Canadian painters have made good progress. One summer day in 1917, the canoe of Tom Thomson, guide and painter, was found floating upside down on Canoe Lake in Northern Ontario. How such an expert canoeist had upset his craft and drowned was an unsolved mystery.

But it was clear enough that Canada had lost one of her finest artists. Tom Thomson was not content to imitate other painters in the United States and Europe. He wished to set down in oil paint the rugged beauty of Canada's northland. If you visit the Lauren-

tian Shield country or see a movie about it, and then look at his paintings called "Jack Pine" and "Northern River," you will cealize how well Thomson captured on canvas the wild, rough but strong appearance of Canada's northern lakes, rocks and forests. A reproduction of "Jack Pine" appears on page 215.

Tom Thomson had a great influence on a number of Ontario artists who painted and exhibited under the name of the Group of Seven. These men believed, like Thomson, that they must give less attention to detail and more to the main subject of the picture. The Group of Seven laid the foundation for a truly national art in Canada.

At about the same time, working by herself across the continent and with no knowledge of the new movement in the east, a painter named Emily Carr was working out for herself almost the same principles in painting the forests and the seas of British Columbia. Recognition of her work came late in life, but the acclaim with which her paintings, and those of the Group of Seven have been received in all countries in which they have been exhibited leaves no doubt that in Art, at least, Canada has arrived at maturity. Emily Carr was also a fine writer. "The Book of Small," one of her best books, tells a wonderful story of her life as a small girl in Victoria when the capital of British Columbia was only a small town.

Many splendid monuments have been made by Canada's leading



Painted by Tom Thomson, The National Gallery of Canada

THE JACK PINE

Not content to imitate the artists of Europe and the United States, Tom Thomson believed that Canadian artists must develop their own techniques to paint Canada's scenery. The painting shown above is a splendid example of Tom Thomson's art.

sculptor, Louis Hébert. His statues of famous Canadians such as Macdonald, Wolfe and Howe may be seen in Ottawa, Montreal, Quebec and Halifax.

Canadian scientists have made important discoveries. In the story of the opening of the west, we read of the valuable experiments of Dr. William Saunders and his son, Sir Charles. After years of patient work, these scientists finally found a wheat—the now-famous "Mar-

quis"—which was not easily killed by frost. Other Canadian agricultural scientists have carried on the work of the two Saunders. Canada has become one of the leading nations in fighting against the enemies of grain—frost, rust and drought—so that all the world's hungry peoples may be fed.

In the battle against disease, Canadians have also served well. Dr. Frederick Banting and Dr. Charles Best in 1922 discovered



Curtis Williamson
Courtesy the Banting Institute
DR. FREDERICK BANTING
He gave insulin to the world.

"insulin," an important new substance in the treatment of a disease called diabetes [dai'eh bee'tis]. A

few years later, other scientists working under Banting's direction found out how to prevent silicosis [silicoh'sis], a disease caused by particles of rock in the lungs. The method discovered by Canadian doctors makes it possible for miners all over the world to do their work without the constant fear of silicosis.

During the second World War, Canadian scientists co-operated with men from the other democracies to provide our soldiers, sailors and airmen with better instruments and weapons than those of the enemy. In the development of atomic power and radar, Canadians gave valuable service. The government's National Research Council is continuing the good work by helping our scientists to carry on the search for knowledge in the battle against disease and hunger.

Canadians Have Overcome Great Obstacles to Build a Nation

Among the middle-sized nations of the world, Canada ranks as a leader. She stands high on the list of the world's great trading countries. This honoured position has only been gained after strenuous exertions and many troubles. Canada's rich territory in the northern half of the North American continent is providing much wealth for her hard-working citizens, but her geography has been a great obstacle to the development of the nation. Canada is divided into six sections by mountains, lakes and the sea. Railway-builders conquered these barriers which kept the colonies separated.

Early explorers, reaching Canada, were disappointed to find that an unknown continent blocked the way to Asia. Many fishermen came to the shores of the new continent for cod. But for many years, men like Cartier were mainly interested in finding a route through or around the northern part of the new land. Gradually traders realized that profits could be made from the furs trapped by the natives. Champlain founded Quebec early in the

17th century and established New France. Fur trading companies were given the job of bringing out colonists but failed to carry out their promises because settlements drove away the fur-bearing animals. The missionaries tried to teach Christianity to the Indians but had little success despite their heroic deeds. Louis XIV wished to strengthen the colony in the second half of the 17th century. Men like Frontenac and Talon helped New France greatly. Explorers such as La Salle and La Verendrye opened up the vast western lands of the continent. However, Britain's colonies along the Atlantic Coast to the south were growing much more rapidly than New France and the Hudson's Bay Company was draining the fur trade to its posts in the north. A long struggle for possession of the continent reached a climax in the Seven Years' War. Wolfe finally captured Quebec from Montcalm. Most of North America belonged to Britain in 1763.

Revolution broke out in the American colonies a few years later. Many of those who refused to take part in the fight against Britain came to Canada. English governors in Canada before the Revolution had believed that the country would always have a majority of French, so they tried to do what the French Canadians wanted. But the coming of the Loyalists made the country part British, part French. The newcomers were used to elected assemblies and British laws. They demanded these rights in Canada. The British Parliament therefore allowed all Canadians, including the French, to have a say in their own governments. Quarrels arose between England and the United States during Britain's struggle against Napoleon. The Americans attacked Canada in 1812. Canadians defended their country with courage and energy. Neither side gained anything from the war but it did decide that Canada should remain British, and Canadians had a new feeling of pride and cooperation as a result of their successes in several battles.

New settlers came to the British North American colonies in large numbers after the War of 1812. They did not like the conditions they found. Loyalist families naturally wanted to keep control of the governments so that they could have privileges and wealth. In Lower Canada, a few British merchants ruled the province as they pleased in spite of protests from the French habitants. Rebellions broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada in 1837. Most of the people wanted reforms but they would not fight against their Queen. The rebellions were easily crushed. The British Parliament sent Lord Durham to investigate. His Report recommended that the elected assembly controlled by the people be given more power. When Lord Elgin was Governor-General, he refused to interfere with the assembly's decisions. Thus the colonists gained complete control over their own local affairs. Canada and

other colonies in the British Empire developed this idea until they became self-governing partners in the British Commonwealth.

When Americans fought against each other in the Civil War, the British North American colonies had many troubles. Railroads were badly needed but the costs of construction were high. The victorious northern states were unfriendly to Britain and anxious to take over the north-west. French and English Canadians under one government in the province of Canada were having bitter quarrels which prevented progress. Merchants and farmers were looking for new markets. Many men became convinced that the solution to these problems lay in uniting all Britain's colonies in America. The British Parliament was in favour of the plan. Colonial statesmen such as Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, and Tupper set to work at the great task. In 1867, the colonies of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia joined together to form the Dominion of Canada.

Confederation of the three large provinces was only a beginning. Under the guidance of Sir John A. Macdonald, the Dominion was enlarged by the addition of British Columbia, the North-West, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island. The scattered provinces were joined by the building of railway lines from Atlantic to Pacific. Law and order were brought to the west by the formation of the famous North-West Mounted Police. Rebellions in the North-West led by Louis Riel caused much hard feeling between French and English Canadians.

As a result of difficulties, the Conservative party was finally defeated by the Liberals under Laurier. At the turn of the century, Canada was growing rapidly. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants came over from Europe. Two new provinces, Saskatchewan and Alberta, were formed and entered Confederation. Wheat and other products of the west were sold to older countries in increasing amounts. Canadians refused to be dominated by either Britain or the United States and insisted on taking more and more control over their own affairs.

When the First World War broke out, the Dominion at once joined the fight at Britain's side. The splendid valour of Canada's fighting men gave all citizens greater pride in their nation. When peace was restored, Canada became a member of the League of Nations. A new Prime Minister, Mackenzie King, took office. He was to be Prime Minister for almost 21 years. During that time the greater independence of Canada was recognized and friendlier relations were established with the United States. A more general use of gasoline engines, and particularly of the aeroplane, permitted Canada to begin to exploit the tremendous resources of the Canadian Shield.

The Great Depression of the 1930's was a serious set-back for Canada. When Britain and France decided to stop Hitler's attacks on small nations, Canada quickly joined the allies. Canadians in battle, in the factories and on the farms helped greatly in gaining victory and gave our country a high position among the world's nations. At the end of the war the work of Confederation was continued when Newfoundland became Canada's tenth province.

The books, plays and paintings enjoyed by Canadians have come mostly from Britain, France and the United States. Citizens of the young Dominions were busy for many years in the task of developing their large country, so they did not give much attention to the arts and sciences. However, Canadian writers, painters and scientists have already produced works of which Canada may be proud. Increasing numbers of Canadians are becoming interested in artistic and scientific activities. A real Canadian culture is developing in our country.

SELF-TEST

Refresh your memory of Canada's story by doing this self-test. The following is a sketch of the story of Canada in test form. In it you will find various kinds of statements. Some must be recognized as either true or false; some must be completed; other statements must be arranged in proper time order; and in some you will have to decide which of several things given is correct. Do whatever the test calls for. Keep the record of your answers on a piece of paper. Do not mark the book.

- Cabot Strait which separates from , then leave the Maritimes and go through the Mountains to Montreal in the Lowlands; then across the to Winnipeg; after hundreds of miles of , he would go through the Mountains to British Columbia on the Coast. The early explorers soon gave up the idea of reaching Asia when they realized that they had found a new continent. (T or F?) French traders who came to Canada were mainly interested in getting: (a) timber, (b) metals, (c) furs. The British at first seemed to think that Canada was of little value. (T or F?) The building of made it possible to have a Canadian nation in spite of geographic barriers. With the coming of the air age it is unlikely that Canada will play a great part in the affairs of the world. (T or F?)
- 2. The Discoverer of Canada was a French sailor named ———————. He and his men liked the weather in the new

land when they stayed for a whole year. (T or F?) Champlain made the first settlement on the banks of the St. Lawrence River at a place called ———. It was a bad day for New France when Champlain went to fight against the (a) Iroquois, (b) Hurons, (c) Algonquins. Without the fur trade, it would have been almost impossible to pay the expenses of settlement in New France. (T or F?) The fur trading companies lived up to their promises to bring settlers out to the colony. (T or F?) Britain served notice that she intended to share in Canada's fur trade when she set up the -— Company. Frontenac's most valuable work in New France was: (a) making money from the fur trade; (b) keeping Bishop Laval from becoming too powerful; (c) defeating the Iroquois. New England grew much more quickly than New France. (T or F?) In the Seven Years' War, ———— defeated ——— at the Battle of the Plains of Abraham. The British army could have captured Quebec without the help of the navy. (T or F?)

- 3. Governor Murray and Carleton usually favoured: (a) English merchants in Quebec; (b) the French Canadians; (c) the American colonists. Many of the French habitants joined the American revolutionary armies to fight against Britain. (T or F?) The soldier who defended Canada so well when the Americans attacked in 1775 was — United Empire Loyalists caused two new provinces to be formed, — and — . The coming of the Loyalists changed greatly the whole history of Canada from that time. (T or F?) After the arrival of the Loyalists, the British Parliament allowed the colonies to have: (a) elected assemblies; (b) complete freedom; (c) no say in their own government. The first man to travel across British North America right to the Pacific Ocean was — . He was a trader for the ______, a fur trading company which was the great rival of the ______. Two important reasons for the War of 1812 were: (a) _____, (b) _____. All the Americans were very enthusiastic about attacking Canada. (T or F?) The War of 1812 made English and French Canadians more unfriendly. (T or F?)

the 1840's, the assemblies in the colonies became more powerful. (T or F?) Lord Elgin signed the Rebellion Losses Bill because he believed the colonists should have the right to decide their own local affairs. (T or F?) Joseph Howe was the leader of the reformers in ————. The events in British North America in the 1840's were important because they started the British Empire on the path leading to the British ————.

- 5. Almost 2,000 miles of railway track were laid in British North America between 1850 and 1860. (T or F?) Three of the main reasons for Confederation were: (a) ______, (b) ______, (c) _____. The "Reciprocity Treaty" was an agreement between Canada and the U.S.A. to prevent wars. (T or F?) "Rep-by-Pop" meant ______ by _____. In 1867 the British North-West was owned by the _______. The British Parliament was opposed to Confederation. (T or F?) The two conferences in Canada to plan the union of the colonies were held at ______ and _____. In the Confederation plan, the provinces gave up all their powers to one central government. (T or F?) The province most opposed to the idea of federation was: (a) Quebec; (b) Nova Scotia; (c) New Brunswick. Three of the most important Fathers of Confederation were: (a) _____, (b) ______, (c) _____. To create the Dominion of Canada, the Parliament at London passed the ______ Act.
- 6. The provinces joined Confederation in the following order (consult the Time Line and arrange the names correctly): British Columbia, New Brunswick, Alberta, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba. The province which caused the most trouble when joining the Dominion was — . The last province to join Confederation was — in — . Louis Riel made his biggest mistake when he: (a) set up a government at Red River; (b) encouraged the Métis to fight for their rights; (c) had Thomas Scott executed. British Columbia would not enter Confederation until Macdonald promised to build a — to the Pacific Coast. Macdonald was Prime Minister all the time from 1867 until his death. (T or F?) The "National Policy" meant: (a) high customs duties on foreign goods to help Canadian factories; (b) a larger army; (c) the building of more railways. Laurier was the leader of the — party. Canada made great progress while Laurier was Prime Minister. (T or F?) Laurier believed that Canada should: (a) take orders from Britain; (b) be more independent; (c) join the United States.

- 8. For a young nation, Canada has a good record of achievement in writing, painting and science. Give the name of a poem, book, picture or discovery associated with each of the following:
- (1) Stephen Leacock
- (2) Tom Thomson
- (3) Bliss Carman
- (4) Sir Frederick Banting
- (5) Emily Carr

- (6) Charles G. D. Roberts
- (7) Ernest Thompson Seton
- (8) Dr. William Drummond
- (9) Sir Charles Saunders
- (10) John McCrae

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

Projects for the Chart Maker and Artist

1. Construct a relief map of Canada. Draw the coast lines, boundaries, main rivers and lakes on a piece of stiff cardboard (about 20 inches by 15 is a good size). Look in your geography book, atlas or encyclopedia to find the heights of mountains and the types of country in the different sections of Canada. Then use coloured plasticene to make the mountains and rocky places. Other parts of the map may be painted appropriate colours (yellow for prairies, green for forests, etc.)

2. Make a trade chart showing what Canada sells to other countries and what she buys from them. See a recent edition of the "Canada Year Book," or "British Empire" by Stephen Leacock.

Topics for Talks

1. "American history through Canadian eyes." Imagine that you are visiting a cousin in the United States. When you go with him to school, the teacher asks you to tell the class how Canada has been affected by the things Americans have done, such as the Revolution, War of 1812, Civil War, etc. Prepare a talk along these lines. See Part Four of this book.

2. "Canada's share in the British Commonwealth." Imagine that you are touring Australia in your summer holidays (when it is winter "down under"). Prepare a talk such as you might give to a class of pupils of your own age, telling how Canada has helped in developing the Commonwealth. See "British Empire," by Stephen Leacock.

3. "The future of Canada's northland." Prepare a talk to give to a group of British tourists who want to know if the barren north will be of any use to Canadians. Magazines such as the "Canadian Geographic" and the Hudson's Bay Company's "Beaver" often have valuable articles on this topic. The books of Vilhjalmur Stefansson

are also well worth consulting.

Adventures for the Amateur Author

1. Imagine that you are an assistant to one of the following men: Champlain, La Salle, Wolfe, Macdonald, Sir Charles Saunders. Choose a date immediately after some important event in your master's life, and write a letter to your parents telling how you

helped him to gain success.

2. Write a despatch such as you might have sent to your editor if you had been a newspaper correspondent travelling with the King and Queen on their trip across Canada in the spring of 1939. Choose some interesting historical spot for your location and work into the despatch some references to the events which took place in former days. See "The Unknown Country," by Bruce Hutchison. You might also look at the May and June, 1939, files of your local newspaper.

Ideas for Your Little Theatre

1. Organize a group to write and act a play about one of Frontenac's quarrels with Laval, or about Robert Gourlay's experiences, or some other incident in the story of Canada which interested you.

2. Imagine that radio had been invented in 1874 and that a broadcast was being made of the departure of the North-West Mounted Police from Dufferin, Manitoba. A committee should work on the preparation and presentation of the script. You will find excellent material in a book called "The Silent Force" by T. Morris Longstreth, published by the Century Company. There should be several announcers posted along the route, and there should be interviews not only with the commanders but with typical members of the force.

Candidates for Your Album of Famous People

Champlain, Wolfe, Lord Selkirk, Macdonald, Laurier, Sir Frederick Banting, Stephen Leacock.

Choose five famous people in all, either from this list, or from those mentioned elsewhere in your text, to represent Canadians in your Album.

INTERESTING READING ABOUT CANADA

Burpee, L. J. Historical Atlas for Canada. Many special maps showing battles, explorers' routes, population, etc. A great help in understanding Canada's start.

standing Canada's story.

Canada, The Official Handbook of Present Conditions and Recent Progress. A wealth of facts about our country, with many fine photographs. Issued annually by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

CARR, EMILY. The Book of Small. An interesting account of life in Victoria, B.C. in its early days as seen through the eyes of a little girl.

HUTCHISON, BRUCE. The Unknown Country. "No one knows my country,

neither the stranger nor its own sons."

Jefferys, C. W. Picture Gallery of Canadian History, Vols. I and II. Cartier, Champlain, Brébeuf... all the famous men of Canadian history are drawn with a wealth of fascinating detail by Canada's famous historical artist.

LANGTON, H. H. A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada. Letters from Upper Canada between the years 1833 - 1844 give a fascinating account of

life in the province in the early days of its settlement.

LAUT, AGNES. Pathfinders of the West. "Fools," cried Radisson, "will you fight the Iroquois with beaver pelts? We fight with guns, not robes!"

McWilliams, Margaret. Manitoba Milestones. "... a winter of great hardship, having to go in search of the buffalo to the open plains in weather thirty-five to forty below zero ..."

——. This New Canada. A study of the background and growth of Canada, of her fitness for the task which faces her in the modern

world.

Massey, The Rt. Hon. Vincent. On Being Canadian. Essays by a distinguished Canadian, formerly our country's representative to the United States who in 1952 became our first Canadian-born Governor-General.

Moodie, Susanna. Roughing It in the Bush. Pioneer life in Upper Canada. "... Moodie fired—the bear retreated up the clearing with

a low growl . . ."

PARKMAN, F. Pioneers of France in the New World. "... the drum kept up its hollow boom, and the air was split with mingled yells ..."

Sissons, C. K. John Kerr. An exciting story of life on the prairies, from Winnipeg to the foothills of the Rockies, told from the diaries of a young man who was a volunteer in the expedition sent out to the Red River to put down the Rebellion there.

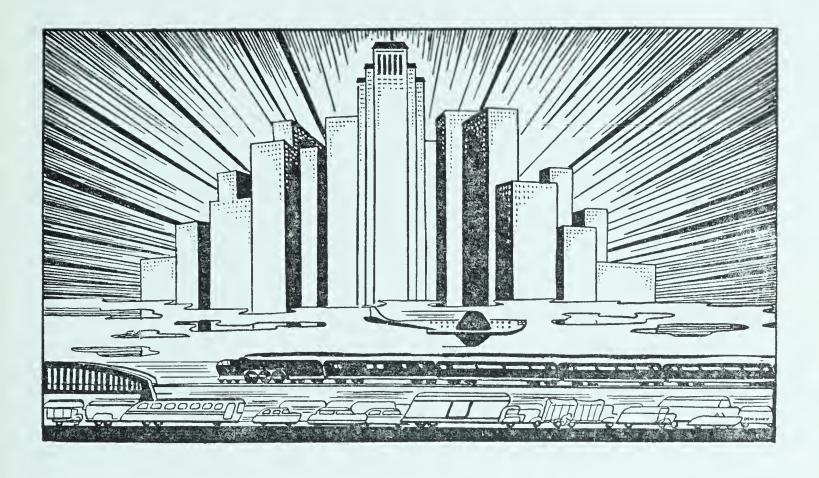
STEPHEN, A. M. The Voice of Canada. A collection of poems and stories

by Canadian authors.

WALLACE, W. S. By Star and Compass.

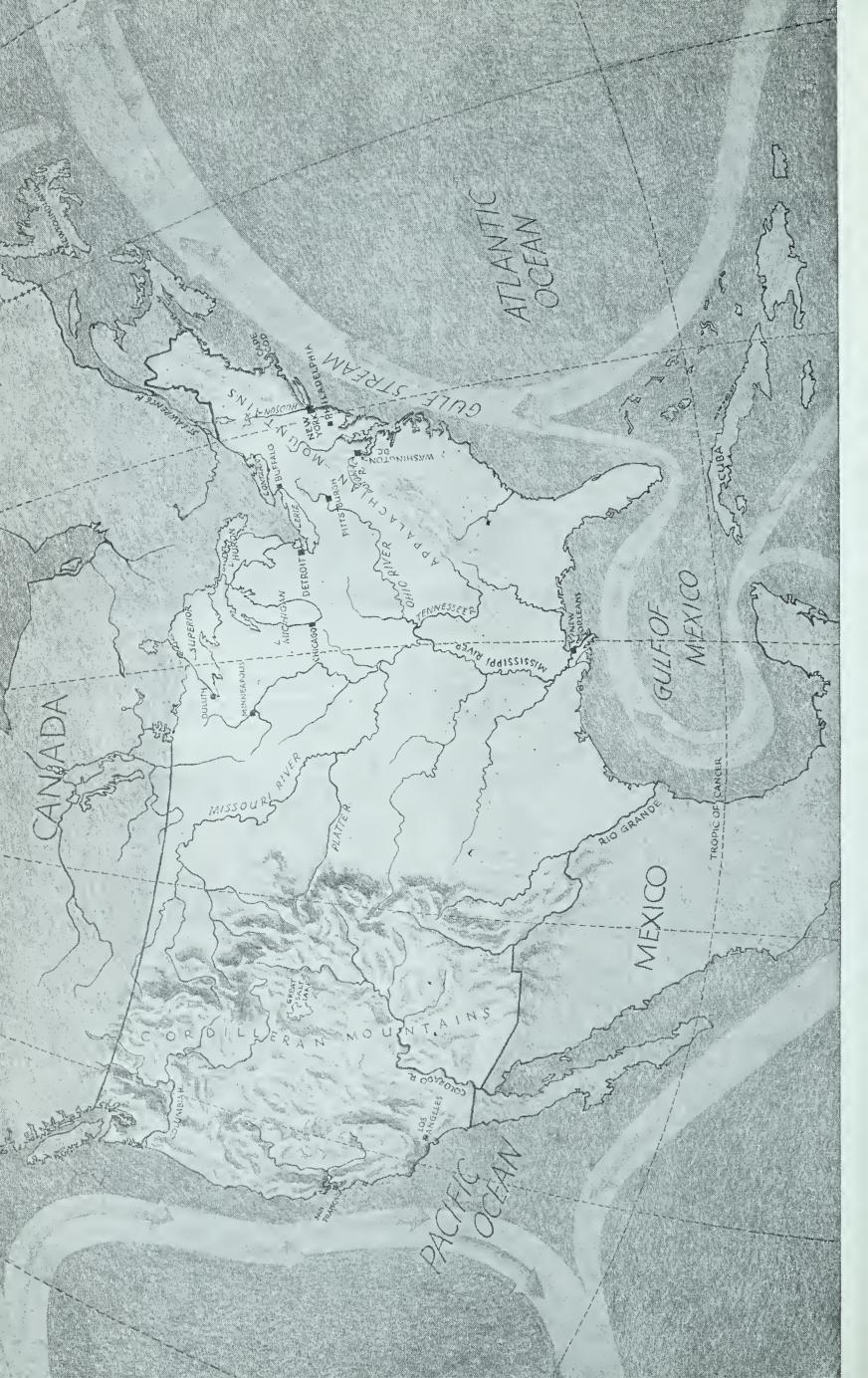
WETHERELL, J. E. Three Centuries of Canadian Story. Short, colourful tales of men and events in our country.

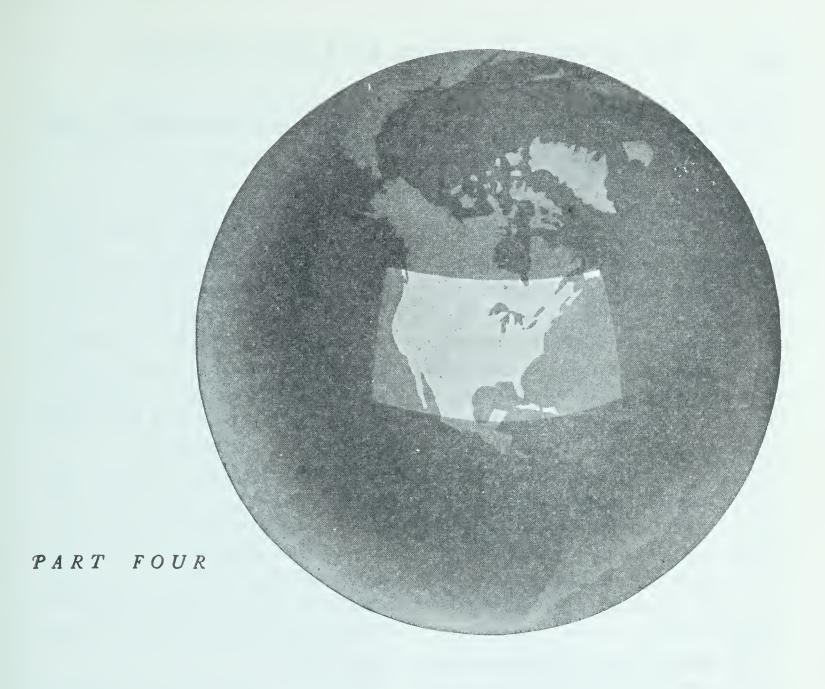
PART FOUR



A NATION DEDICATED TO LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

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The Great Experiment

THE building of a nation depends upon the character of its people and the extent of its natural resources. The United States is rich in both. Its people came from so many different lands that the country has been called "the melting pot of nations." These people had many different reasons for migrating to the New World. Some came because they desired freedom from religious and political persecution; others came in search of gold, trade, or land; but the great majority looked only for an opportunity "to make good" under new conditions. America came to be another name for opportunity. Europeans brought faith, knowledge, and skill to a new land, and these qualities developed an American civilization founded on freedom. No single idea is so deeply rooted in the heart of the American as this word "Freedom." In time a Revolutionary War, a Civil War, and two World Wars had to be fought to preserve it.

Nature was generous to the United States. Its territory lies within the most favoured region in the New World, the north temperate zone. Because of its natural resources and industrious people, wealth has been produced in such great quantities that the nation has the highest living

standard of any in the world.

Study the map of the United States, and refer to it frequently as you read this story.

Chapter I — The United States of America Finds Wealth in its Natural Resources

Canadians and Americans have much in common. The unfortified boundary between the United States and Canada is 4,000 miles long, but most Canadians rarely think of it as a boundary. Canadians cross this border freely, for most of us live closer to the United States than we do to our neighbouring provinces. We inhabit the same continent as the people of the United States, speak the same language, read the same literature, go to the same movies, and listen to the same radio programmes. All this makes us talk about the same things.

Our business life is patterned after that of the United States, and there are many Canadian branches of American companies here. The Fathers of Confederation borrowed from the American system and from American experience when they prepared a federal form of government for Canada.

Extent of territory and physical features. The area of the United States is 3,000,000 square miles. If we include Alaska, which was purchased from Russia in 1867, it is 3,600,000 square miles. This is slightly smaller than Europe, and 800,000 square miles smaller than Canada. The distance across the country is approximately 3,000 miles, and from north to south approximately 1,600 miles.

The country has two great mountain systems near the coastlines. On the east are the Appalachians, which, for 150 years, hemmed the colonists between the mountains and the Atlantic Ocean, until gaps or passes were discovered through which entry could be made into the interior. The Cordilleran Mountains on the west likewise created problems of transportation and communication before the Pacific could be reached.

On the map you will see these mountain systems and the rivers that formed passes through them. Notice particularly the Hudson and the Potomac Rivers that flow into the Atlantic, and the Columbia and Colorado Rivers that flow into the Pacific.

Between these two mountain systems there are the Great Plains comprising plateaux, rolling country and prairies. Most of this area is drained by the Mississippi River which with its tributary the Missouri forms the longest river in the world, approximately 4200 miles in length.

The Ohio and its tributary the Tennessee are two river highways by which men reached the Mississippi. The Rio Grande forms most of the boundary with Mexico. The Platte River, tributary of the Missouri, is another highway to the west.

Influence of geography on occupations. The geography of the United States has determined the occupations of its people. A coastline of 11,000 miles has given the people near the sea a source of livelihood

from fishing, shipbuilding, and trade; in the south rich land attracted large populations; settlers in the Appalachian regions found coal from which tremendous industrial activity developed. This activity was speeded up when iron ore was discovered at the head of the Great Lakes and brought in barges to the industrial centres. The people in the middle west depended upon agriculture for their living and prosperity. Tobacco and cotton were grown in the southern section, corn in the central region, and mixed grains in the north; and the western foothills supplied grazing lands for ranching.

Men were first attracted to the Cordilleran area by gold and other mineral wealth. Later, when transportation systems linked the west with the treeless plains, the demand for lumber created an important industry in the Cordilleras. Some folk settled in the fertile valleys of the Cordilleras and engaged in fruit farming.

The United States is an industrial power. In the United States there are about 45 people to the square mile, in contrast to 740 in England, or 3 in Canada. During the 1860's nine-tenths of the American people lived outside the cities, but today more than one-half are city dwellers, and 80% of the 140,000,000 population live in the industrialized sections east of the Mississippi.

The capital of the United States is Washington in the District of Columbia. The five largest cities are New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit and Los Angeles. You will find these on the map.

In the northeast, shoes, woollen and cotton textiles, clothing, chemicals, and electrical goods are manufactured. Because of the proximity of coal in the north middle-west we find the heavier industries manufacturing iron and steel products. Pittsburgh is the heart of the coal mining region and Detroit is the centre of the automobile industry. Chicago is the key distributing centre for the flow of goods into and from the west. Here, too, can be found the world's largest stockyards and meat packing plants. Through Minneapolis, Duluth, Chicago and Buffalo flows the grain of the west to be manufactured into flour or shipped to the markets of the world.

In recent years considerable industry has moved to the south where the federal government has developed power projects on the Tennessee River as a means of aiding the industrialization of this area. Here cotton textile mills and other industries dependent on the agricultural wealth of the south have been developed. On the Pacific coast shipbuilding, aeroplane manufacturing, and the movie industry have been added to the primary industries of fishing, fruit farming, logging, and mining.

The United States produces 80% of the automobiles, 60% of the telephones, and 60% of the petroleum used in the world today. In all, our neighbour produces about 60% of the world's industrial goods.

This tremendous change from an agricultural to an industrial society has created many social problems.

Chapter 2 — The Thirteen English Colonies

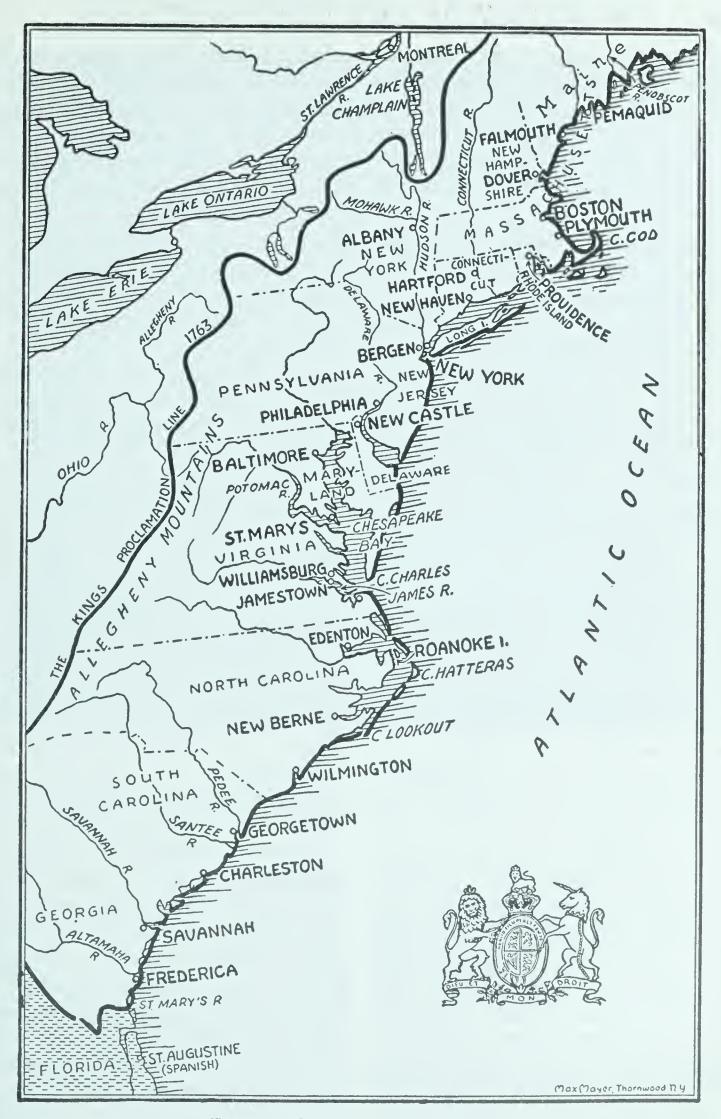
Trade gives England supremacy of the sea. In the 16th century the English seamen set out to destroy the naval power of Spain. In this they were encouraged by the Tudor monarchs, Henry VII, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth. England needed trade in order to survive. Spain had become wealthy from its colonies, as gold and silver from America were valuable metals to have for the payment of goods. These Spain controlled. English trade with the continent of Europe had been reduced by the rise of strong states and empires. Unable to expand on the continent, the English sought trade in the new lands beyond the seas. Companies were formed by enterprising merchants to whom the king gave monopolies of trade for some staple product. The activities of these companies and particularly of the English seamen angered Spain, at that time the most powerful country in the world. In 1588 Philip II of Spain attempted to destroy England by invasion. His great Armada was defeated and almost destroyed by the ships of the English seamen. The defeat of the Armada began for England a mastery of the sea which it kept for more than three hundred years.

The first colony is planted in the south. Spain and Portugal had profited by colonies. Why not England? Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh were the first Englishmen to try to found col-

onies in the New World. Both colonies were failures. Twenty years later a group of London merchants secured from James I the right to found a colony in the region where Raleigh had failed. This Virginia Company established the first English settlement in America on a river which was named James, in honour of the King. The settlement was called Jamestown.

From this date, 1607, until 1732, twelve additional colonies on the Atlantic seaboard were founded, reaching from French Canada to Spanish Florida. The reasons that led to the founding of these colonies were, as you will read, different in each case. Religious motives brought some settlements into being, but in nearly all cases money had to be obtained through selling shares in companies before the colony could be successfully launched.

The success of the Virginia colony depended much upon the leadership of a remarkable man, Captain John Smith. Most of his colonists were gentlemen adventurers and their servants. They were little prepared to meet the difficulties and dangers of clearing land in a wilderness in which the Indian lurked. They hoped to find gold quickly and return home, as the Spaniards to the south had done. John Smith, however, insisted that only hard work would guarantee a permanent colony, and his order of "No work—no food" ensured the success of the enterprise.



English Colonial Settlements

From the Indians the colonists learned of tobacco and began to cultivate it extensively. Tobacco became the chief article of export, with the Virginia Company enjoying the monopoly of its sale in England.

The northern colonies: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New Hampshire. In 1620 a party of 102 Puritans sailed on the Mayflower from Plymouth in England. They were destined for Jamestown, Virginia, where they had been promised a refuge from religious persecution. The Mayflower lost its course and the settlers landed at Cape Cod. Before disembarking they entered into an Agreement. This document signed by the settlers was the first written plan for a self-governing community in the New World, and was known as the Mayflower Compact.

We, whose names are underwritten . . . haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king and countree, a voyage to plante ye first colonie in ye northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutually in ye presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye general good of ye colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

The first settlement of these Pilgrim Fathers, as they have come to be called, was named Plymouth. During the first year they suffered many hardships and half of the colonists died. Through the kindness of the Indians they learned to cultivate corn and hunt wild game, and a treaty of peace was made between the Pilgrims and Indians which was kept for many years. When the first harvest was reaped the crop was so plentiful that the Indians and Pilgrims together gave thanks to God. Thus the first Thanksgiving Day was celebrated in America.

In the summer of 1630, another party of 1,000 Puritans arrived at Boston, to be followed by Baptists and Quakers.

The Puritans sought freedom for their faith, but denied it to others. Roger Williams, a Baptist minister, believed every man had a right to worship God as he pleased, and because of this view he was obliged to leave the colony. Others followed him, and a new settlement was carved out of Massachusetts, which became the colony of Rhode Island. Here political and religious freedom were not only preached but practised, and Rhode Island became a haven for the persecuted.

Settlers in search of better land left the colony of Massachusetts and founded New Hampshire and Connecticut. The latter had as its leader another minister, Thomas Hooker, who disliked the intolerance of Puritan government and quarrelled with the governor. In the colony of Connecticut he affirmed the principle that "in matters that concern the common good, a general council chosen by all to transact business which concerns all—I consider most suitable to rule, and most safe."



Brown Brothers

FIRST SUNDAY IN AMERICA

Church-going was dangerous in the early days of the Puritans in America. Notice the armed men and the sentry.

The middle colonies: New York, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania. Because its people have been drawn from all races and all lands the United States of America is often called "the melting pot of nations." This was true even of the colonial period.

Other nations besides the English had established colonies in the New World. The Dutch had claimed the Hudson River valley, basing their claim on the discoveries of an English navigator, Hen-

ry Hudson, in the service of Holland. A colony, New Amsterdam, was founded at the mouth of the river on Manhattan Island, which had been bought from the Indians for a few beads.

Further south Swedish and Finnish colonists had established a home on the Delaware River. This colony was absorbed by New Amsterdam. In 1664, because of hostility between England and Holland over trade, English ships captured the Dutch colony without difficul-

ty. The colony was then given to James, Duke of York, brother of Charles II, and renamed New York.

The colony of New Jersey was created by James II out of his private holding of New York. It was given by him to a group of noblemen. In 1702, however, it again came into possession of the Crown.

The story of the founding of Pennsylvania is very interesting. A land grant in the New World was made by Charles II to William Penn, an Admiral in the King's Navy, in payment of a debt. On the death of the elder Penn, the land was inherited by his son William. This young man was a student at Oxford. He became interested in the Society of Friends, or Quakers, and because of his interest in this religious body he was expelled from Oxford. The Quakers believed in plain living, both in habits and dress. They condemned war as a means of settling disputes, and were always active in peace movements. Penn decided to found a colony in America for the Quakers. The first settlement was called Philadelphia, meaning "Brotherly Love."

Large numbers of German Mennonites and English Baptists settled in Pennsylvania, for Penn promised religious freedom to all sects. He stated that:

All persons living in this province who acknowledge the one Almighty God to be the Creator and Ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no way be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice.

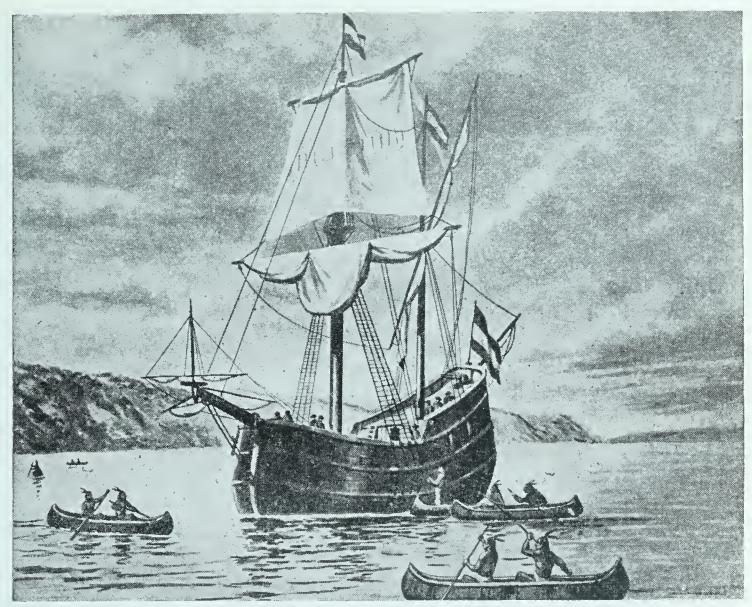
William Penn is also credited with having outlawed slavery from his colony, and having dealt fairly with the Indians.

More colonies are planted in the south: Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Maryland was founded in 1634 as a refuge for Catholics. A grant of land was made to Lord Baltimore and his heirs. This family granted religious freedom to all settlers and in a short time Protestants outnumbered Catholics.

The success of the Virginia colony encouraged expansion southward into new areas. Charles II, in 1663, granted land to eight lords, who formed the colony of Carolina. In 1729 Carolina was divided into two separate colonies, North and South Carolina.

Georgia, the last of the original thirteen colonies, was founded in 1732, and differed from the other colonies in its origin. James Oglethorpe, an influential man, disliked the abuse and mistreatment of prisoners in the Old World. He petitioned George II for permission to found a colony south of the Carolinas in which prisoners should be able to acquire land, and by thrift and industry prove themselves worthy of freedom. Moreover, the colony would serve as a buffer region between the Carolinas and the Spanish territory of Flori-

Industry, agriculture, and commerce grow. As each settlement became established, geography determined the occupation of its people. In the north farms were small because good land was scarce. The rocky



Brown Brothers

HENRY HUDSON ON THE HUDSON RIVER

Hudson was an Englishman but he was sailing in the service of Holland when he discovered the Hudson River. In a later journey in the service of England he discovered the great bay in Canada which bears his name.

formation and heavily timbered land compelled the settlers to make their livelihood from the fur trade and fishing industries as well as from the land. At a later period ships were built to carry fish and staves for barrels to the West Indies in exchange for tropical products; or furs and lumber to England in exchange for manufactured goods. Shipbuilding became so great an industry in the northern colonies that English builders complained of the colonial competition.

The middle colonies were the first bread baskets of the New World. Here the climate and soil

made the growing of cereals a simple matter. Philadelphia became the centre of trade and commerce on the Atlantic, closely followed by New York on the Hudson. As Pennsylvania was developed westward coal mining stimulated the growth of manufacturing.

The southern colonies from Maryland to Georgia drew the bulk of their wealth from agricultural products. Many foods were grown for home use. Tobacco, rice, and indigo for dye were the principal commodities for export. A man's wealth was measured in terms of land, thus great plantations of

many hundreds of acres were common. To work these plantations many labourers were required. The need for labourers was first supplied by "indentured servants," immigrants whose passage to the colony was paid by the planter on condition that they would serve their master for a period of years. These people were generally evicted tenant farmers, or unemployed labourers from the Old World.

The importation of slaves was started in 1619 to provide an ample supply of cheap labour. All the colonies permitted its practice, but in the south slaves were considered a necessity.

In commerce and trade the northern colonies made much greater progress than the southern colonies. Companies had to be formed to develop those enterprises that private wealth could not undertake. The result was that in time the southern colonies became increasingly dependent upon the north for manufactured goods.

Travel, roads and mail. In the early years of colonial life a man thought twice before he took a trip, and only necessity compelled him to travel. People on the coast used sailing vessels, and their arrival at a destination depended on favourable winds.

Gradually a few roads were made over Indian trails and the stage coach appeared, but the roads were bad, and passengers were often obliged to work their way to a destination by helping to get the coach out of endless mud holes. In 1756 a journey from New York to Philadelphia, a distance of ninety miles,

required three full days' travel.

The cost of carrying mail was so great that few letters were written, and rarely prepaid because of the risk of loss. People in such circumstances preferred to be thought about rather than written to. Some improvement was made when Benjamin Franklin became Postmaster-General of the colonies in 1763. He divided the country into districts, and sent postriders from town to town. These carried the mail on horseback in their saddlebags.

Churches and schools build charac-In most early New England colonies, for example Rhode Island, the Puritan churches regulated the lives of the people. Attendance at church was compulsory, and behaviour was closely watched. There were numerous methods of punishment for those who did not conform to the rules of the church and the community. Whipping, prisonment, or banishment were common penalties, while a persistent offender might have his ears cut off or even be hanged. towns grew, the terror of the wilderness and the danger from the Indians became less, the influence of the Church grew less and the penalties for offences were reduced. In the preacher's place the lawyer emerged to take care of the many problems which a scramble for wealth in the New World created. The influence of the lawyer in the community gave him leadership in matters of government.

Schools were organized first by the Puritans in Massachusetts. Instruction at public expense devel-



From Ewing Galloway

WESTERN STAGECOACH

The stagecoach was an important means of transportation in the United States from the time the first colonial settlements built roads.

oped as early as 1635 in Boston. Later the system in Massachusetts became the pattern in other colonies. Schools were scarce in the south because distances were great and towns few. The wealthier families had private teachers. Education was not considered necessary for slaves and servants who were employed at manual labour on the land. To this day there are more people in the south who can neither read nor write than in the north.

In 1639 a Puritan college in Massachusetts received a large money gift from Rev. John Harvard. This institution became known as Harvard University, the first English

centre of higher education in the New World. By 1764 five colleges and seventeen libraries had been established. In the early days of the colonies, college attendance was limited to those of wealth and the proper form of religion. In the spirit of freedom in the New World, however, the narrow selection of students soon disappeared.

Homes and home life in the colonies varied with circumstances. Few colonists were wealthy, and the great majority of people lived simply. In the country, farm houses were built of heavy timber. Practically every home had an open fireplace with a large chimney. In the larger towns

and plantations considerable luxury could be found. The successful merchants and planters displayed their wealth by building stately mansions containing imported furniture and costly silver plate.

In the country people seldom visited stores. The farmer raised his own food, and the sheep furnished wool which was spun into yarn and woven into cloth by the women. The men wore buckskin jackets and knee breeches. In the city, however, dress was much more elaborate. Ladies wore gowns of brocade and rich silk. They powdered their hair and generally copied the ways of wealthy people in the homeland. Gentlemen wore three-cornered cocked hats, long velvet coats with lace ruffles at their wrists, knee breeches, white silk stockings, and shoes with silver buckles. They kept their hair long, powdered it white, and tied it back in a twist with a black silk ribbon.

Books and newspapers. The first newspaper, The Boston News-Letter, appeared in Boston in 1704, and before long other towns had weekly papers. In these were discussed local problems and these discussions contributed much to ideas of self-government. Benjamin Franklin for many years published Poor Richard's Almanac. Thousands of copies were printed each year. In these could be found much wisdom and wit which appealed to a hard working people. Many of the proverbs of our present day owe their origin to Benjamin Franklin: "Heaven helps those who help themselves," "Lost time is never found again," "A word to the wise is enough."

At the time of the revolution Thomas Paine wrote a pamphlet called "Common Sense" of which more than 100,000 copies were sold. This supplied many of the arguments for the independence of the colonies. The pamphlet was widely read by those who took their politics seriously.

Colonial government. It is important to remember that each of the colonies had its own history of government. The powers which each colony had received from the Crown were subject to many changes as new conditions and problems emerged. Some had received charters in which the colony was given a great deal of selfgovernment. This was particularly true of the northern Puritan colonies. Other colonies were controlled by the great land-owners who had the right to appoint the governor. These in time surrendered their rights to the Crown. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the governor was elected by the people. In the remaining colonies the king reserved the right of appointment. The governor was assisted by a council appointed by the king. All the colonies had representative assemblies elected by the voters, who made the laws and fixed the amount of taxes, in all matters that concerned internal affairs. and country meetings were held to discuss public questions, and the right to vote was enjoyed by property owners. These were more numerous than in England, for in the New World land was plentiful and cheap. This right of a people

to self-government was part of the English tradition, and was the natural inheritance of the majority of the colonists.

The king had the right to disallow laws passed in the colonies but rarely did so, because most problems of government were purely local. When King George III did attempt to enforce his will upon his people the spirit of independence, established by the freedom they enjoyed in the New World, resulted in the American Revolution.

Population in the colonies. In 1640 the population of the colonies was only 25,000. By 1713 the number was 250,000. During the next fifty years it increased to 1,500,000. Of this number nearly 300,000 were Negro slaves in the southern colonies. In the twenty years after 1760 the population jumped to 3,000,000.

England's war with France helped to unite the colonies. As we have read in the story of Canada, Samuel de Champlain founded the first im-

portant French settlement in North America at Quebec in 1608. French missionaries, anxious to convert the Indians, and French fur traders, wishing to expand their enterprise, gradually penetrated the heart of the continent. By 1750 a system of French trading posts and missions reached from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi River. Clashes between the French and their Indian allies and the settlers in the northern colonies were frequent. It was the danger from these clashes that compelled the colonies to work together for protection. In 1754 a Congress was held at Albany in which a plan of union was proposed by Benjamin Franklin. The plan failed because only five colonies were represented, but it was an important step in the development of the idea of union. The colonies, through the part they played in England's war with France, gained confidence in their ability to defend themselves and manage their own affairs. That confidence was to serve them well in the future.

Chapter 3 — The Birth of the United States of America

Colonial system tightened. The war which resulted in the French being driven from North America is known in Canadian history as the Seven Years' War and in American history as the French and Indian War. At the close of the Seven Years' War Great Britain found herself in possession of a vast empire. To bind this empire together more tightly, the British

government planned to exercise a greater degree of control from London than it had done before. The government in London had the idea that colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country. The colonies were to supply Britain with raw products, and were to buy finished products from Britain in return.

Shipping and commerce were

controlled by the Navigation Acts passed in the reign of Charles II. These compelled the colonies to transport their goods in British ships. The Acts were tolerated by the colonists because they had not been enforced. When measures were taken after 1763 that compelled the colonies to obey the navigation laws, the colonists questioned Britain's authority to interfere in their right to trade freely with other powers. Smuggling, in defiance of the laws, became very common.

In 1763 Britain passed the Stamp Act to help pay the cost of the wars which England had waged at least in part for the protection of the colonies. The colonists refused to pay this tax. They believed that the king had no right to collect money except by consent of the people's representatives in parliament, and the colonies had no representation in the British Parliament. To them taxation without representation meant tyranny. So much opposition developed toward Great Britain that Samuel Adams of Boston suggested that representatives of the other colonies be invited to New York to discuss the differences with the mother country. These representatives met in 1765 and petitioned the British government to repeal the tax. This was done, but another Act was passed asserting the right of the Crown to tax the colonies "in all cases whatsoever."

In 1767 the British Parliament levied a tax on glass, paper, paints and tea. The colonists on hearing this news bound themselves "to eat nothing, drink nothing and wear nothing" brought in from Great Britain until all English duties were removed. This boycott resulted in all taxes being repealed except that on tea. Three ships loaded with tea docked at Boston harbour. The colonists refused to unload the cargoes. When the royal governor ordered the ships' captains to put the tea ashore, a company of Boston citizens disguised as Indians dumped the tea into the ocean.

To punish the colonists for this defiance, the British Parliament passed five more Acts which the colonists named the Intolerable Acts. One of these Acts closed Boston harbour. Another dissolved the Legislative Assembly of Massachusetts and gave all the power to the Crown, which governed through the military. A third Act gave the Crown the right to transfer to England for trial any military or government official charged with an offence within the colonies. The Quartering Act compelled subjects in the colonies to provide billets for English soldiers. At the same time, the Quebec Act, which gave to

Monday Morning, December 27, 1773.

THE Tea-Ship being arrived, every Inhabitant who wishes to preferve the Liberty of America, is defired to meet at the State-House, This Morning, precisely at TEN o'Clock, to advise what is best to be done on this alarming Criss.

Canada the area east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio was passed. This angered the colonists because it transferred land to Canada which they considered theirs. The Act also set up for Canada a government by appointed governor and council, which alarmed the colonists.

The colonists had some friends in the British Parliament. Not all the members of the British Parliament were in favour of the king's policy. William Pitt the elder, Edmund Burke, and John Wilkes all tried to advise the government against policies that were destroying the loyalty of the colonies. George III, however, and his chief minister, George Grenville, together with the majority of Parliament, were determined to maintain what they believed to be the power and dignity of the Crown.

The First Continental Congress 1774. Samuel Adams of Boston had been most active in stirring up the colonists against Great Britain. He formed Committees of Correspondence, through which leaders in the struggle for the rights of the colonies were secretly informed of events. Soon a call for a general congress went out and in 1774 representatives of all but one of the colonies met at Philadelphia. This came to be known as the First Continental Congress.

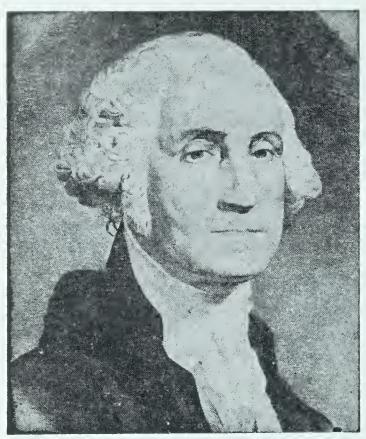
The delegates to this Congress petitioned the British Parliament to repeal the harsh Acts, and affirmed a Declaration of Rights which stated that the "inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America are entitled to life, liberty

and property, and they never have ceded these to any power to dispose of without their consent." King George III and his government refused to repeal the Acts, and ignored the Declaration of Rights.

Few people wanted war but precautions were being taken within the colonies in case of trouble. In Massachusetts, a government independent of British military rule was set up with John Hancock at its head. A secret society called Sons of Liberty, organized previously to watch the activities of British soldiers, again became active. A military force was raised for the defence of the colonies, a part of which was made up of minutemen, soldiers ready to march or fight at a moment's notice.

The war began when General Gage of the British army at Boston determined to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams at Lexington. These two gentlemen were on their way to Philadelphia for the second meeting of the Continental Congress. Minuteman Paul Revere, warned of the British plan by a lantern hung in a Boston church, made his famous ride to Lexington warning the countryside. When a British force arrived at Lexington the next morning Hancock and Adams had been gone for hours. A skirmish took place and eight patriots were killed. The red-coats advanced to Concord, where the colonists had stored ammunition. Here the British soldiers met a severe reverse.

The Second Continental Congress 1775. War had begun. Massachusetts



Culver Service

THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY

As Commander-in-Chief of the Continental armies and later as President, George Washington played a principal role in the founding of the nation.

asked Congress for a commander in chief "for the defence and rights of America." This post was given to George Washington who had served with the British in the wars against France. A gentleman of Virginia, who had lived the hard life of the frontier and had suffered the dangers of the Indian wars, Washington brought to his new task qualities of modesty, courage and lightheartedness.

No escape from the difficulties with Great Britain seemed possible except by a complete break with the mother country. A famous resolution, moved by Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia, ran as follows: "Resolved that these united colonies are, and ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all alle-

giance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

This resolution was debated at length. Some colonies hesitated to declare for independence. A committee of five was appointed by the Congress to prepare a document which should make known to the world the reasons why the colonists sought independence. Thomas Jefferson, the youngest member of the committee, wrote the document. From this Declaration of Independence was born the United States of America.

Here are four terms from the Declaration of Independence:

- 1. All men are equal before the law.
- 2. The rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, cannot be taken away from man by any power.
- 3. Government rests upon consent of the governed.
- 4. When a government fails to guarantee these rights then "it is the right of the people to alter, or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

The Declaration of Independence was unanimously adopted by Congress on July 4th, 1776. Independence Day, July 4th, is always celebrated as a national holiday in the United States.

Comparative strength of the two sides in the struggle. A new nation was born, but could it survive? The United States had a population of only 3,000,000 of whom 500,000 were slaves. It lacked a navy and a regular army, and was obliged

to depend upon the separate states for the raising of troops. Congress asked for 80,000 men but only 35,000 were recruited; further it had no satisfactory method of raising money to wage effective war. Many of the colonists, too, were in sympathy with the British cause. These fought on the British side and after the war, as we have already seen, many of them came to Canada.

Great Britain's population at this time was about 10,000,000. She possessed large manufacturing resources and efficient means of obtaining money. As a single power Great Britain had the strongest navy in Europe, but the army dispatched to America numbered only 40,000 of which a large percentage were German professional soldiers.

The course of the war. Although the war started at Lexington the fighting took place from Quebec to Georgia. Most of the major battles were fought close to the sea because here the British navy was effective. Two Continental armies were sent to conquer Canada, for Congress rightly feared that the British would send an expedition from the north to make war on the colonies. One army under Montgomery captured Montreal, then joined the second army in an attempt to take Quebec. This failed and the conquest of Canada was abandoned.

An attempt to drive the British from Boston resulted in the Battle of Bunker Hill, 1775. Neither side gained a decision. A year later Washington, by the skilful placing of cannon, compelled the Crown

forces to withdraw by sea. Things became serious for the Americans when a British combined operations of army and navy captured New York and Philadelphia, in a move to divide the colonies by cutting through the centre. This success made the years 1776 and 1777 a most critical period for the colonies. Washington's faith and courage, however, led him to reorganize his army for an offensive.

The late months of 1777 saw a turning point in the war. A complete British army sent from Canada, with all its cannon and supplies, was captured at Saratoga on the Hudson River by a Continental army under General Gates. This victory gave the army supplies which it sorely needed.

The rebellious colonies were not alone in their struggle. Holland, Spain and France, all bitter rivals of Britain, made loans and sent supplies to the Congress armies. Once the Americans had proved that they could win victories France entered into an alliance with them, and a short time later Holland and Spain declared war on England. In 1781 a British army under Lord Cornwallis was defeated at Yorktown, Virginia, by the combined operations of a French fleet and an American army. This disaster, together with the fear of a prolonged struggle with her continental neighbours, made England decide to abandon the struggle.

The Treaty of Paris, 1783. Congress appointed five commissioners to draw up terms for peace. Three of these men met in Paris in 1782 and in 1783. The treaty was signed

which recognized the independence of the thirteen colonies, and established the boundaries of the new republic. Its territory was to extend north to Canada, west to the Mississippi, and south to Florida. Spain held Florida and the land west of the Mississippi. The boundary with Canada was not clearly defined, and this became the cause of later friction between the United States and Great Britain. Canada had no voice in the final settlement because she was still a colony.

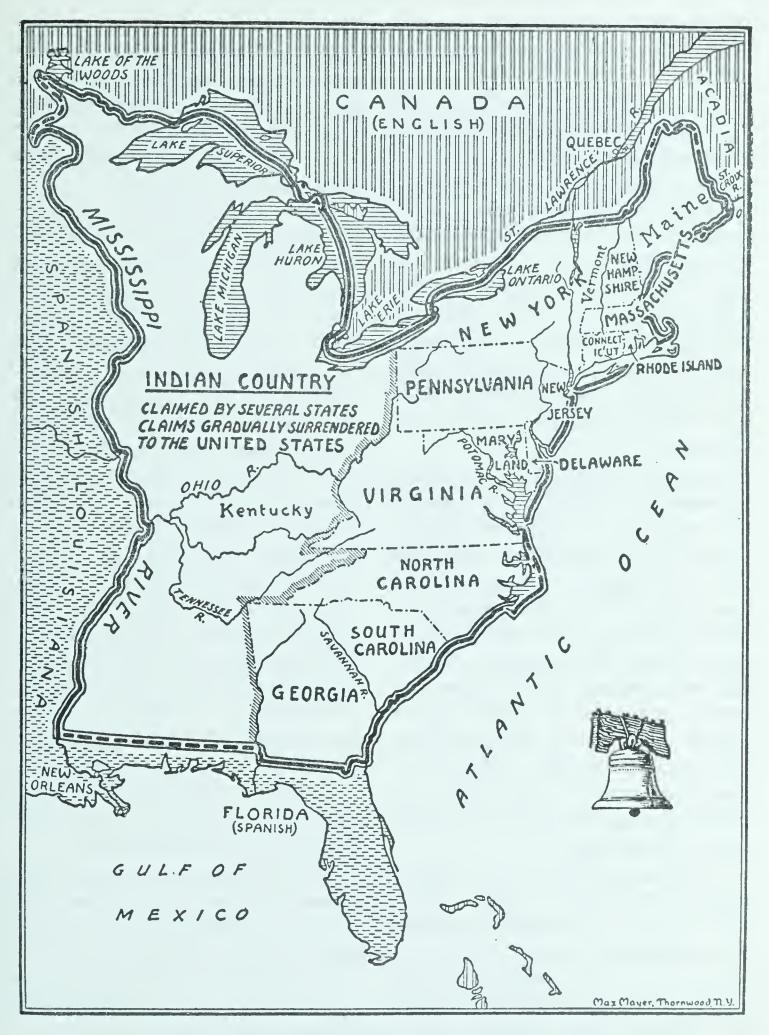
The Articles of Confederation. The revolution was the work of the Continental Congress which had no more power than the separate states were prepared to give it. The colonies had struggled for independence. When this was gained each state considered itself sovereign, and had little desire to erect a central government which might interfere with the rights of the separate states. To guarantee state rights, Congress had drawn up the Articles of Confederation. This document was approved by the separate states and came into effect in 1781. During the next eight years so many problems emerged that the League of Friendship, established under the Articles, was unable to solve them.

Government, to be effective, must have three functions. The first we call the legislative, the power to make laws. This power, in democratic societies, is exercised by the people's representatives. The second is the executive function that carries out the law. This is exercised by a Cabinet. The third function is the judiciary, which interprets the

laws and sees that justice is given. This is undertaken by the law courts.

Under the League of Friendship these functions of government were lacking. The laws were made by a Congress representing the separate states. Each state had only one vote, no matter what its size or population was. If nine states agreed, laws could be passed, but since a great deal of jealousy existed among them, laws of common interest were seldom passed. The Articles of Confederation did not provide for a president, executive, or central court of law. The work of government when Congress was not in session was entrusted to a committee with no power to act. Congress could not levy taxes. It must ask the states for revenue, and if they refused there was no power to compel them to pay. Congress could not control commerce. Each state made its own laws about imports, exports and duties, not only with neighbouring states, but with foreign countries. Congress had an army but had no power to raise revenue to maintain it.

With so little power, Congress could not solve the problems that faced it at the close of the war. All the states, as well as Congress, had contracted large debts during the conflict. Taxation was heavy. In Massachusetts, farmers under the leadership of Daniel Shays refused to pay taxes and rebelled against the state government. So much paper money had been issued by the Continental Congress that it had lost all real value and the



THE UNITED STATES AT THE TREATY OF PARIS, 1783

saying, "It is not worth a continental," had its origin during this

period.

The states quarrelled over the lands that were being opened in the west. The small states hemmed in on the coast could expand in one direction only, and hence challenged the claims of the larger states to lands on their western borders. Maryland summed up the argument for the small states as follows: "If won from England by the blood and treasure of all the States, they should belong to all the States, and be managed by Congress."

Powerful interests support a central government. Amongst the people who wanted a stronger central government were some who had made loans to Congress to wage war, and now feared that they would not be repaid, unless power was given to raise money by taxation. Others wanted a strong army to give security in the west against Indian attack or the rival claims of England and Spain. The influence of this group was strengthened by individuals who had made loans for new developments.

To these problems was added a complete collapse of trade. Before the war Britain and her West Indies possessions had been the best customers of the colonies. With these markets closed, goods produced in the United States could not be sold and prices fell.

George Washington had little faith in the League of Friendship. He described the weakness of the central government when he wrote, "I predict the worst consequences from the half starved, limping government, always moving about on crutches and tottering at every step." Before he resigned as commander in chief from the army he had urged an "indissoluble union under one federal head."

A river saves the Union. In 1785 George Washington was elected president of a company to develop commerce and communication along the Potomac River, by improving the route to the Ohio River, thus connecting the west to the Atlantic seaboard. This project was of most importance to Virginia and Maryland, but because of the great cost representatives from the other eleven states were invited to discuss it. Only five states responded to the invitation.

Alexander Hamilton, a wealthy financier of New York, who along with Washington saw the weakness of the League of Friendship, boldly called another meeting of the representatives of the states to discuss commerce "and other important matters." Congress authorized the convention to meet at Philadelphia "for the sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

The Philadelphia Convention, 1787, prepared a new constitution. This meeting was attended by fifty-five men of great ability who realized that upon the success of their work depended the future of the United States. The Convention worked in secrecy for four months under the chairmanship of George Washington. Difficulties in reaching agreement upon the numerous problems were great. Final settlements were made on the basis of compromises.

Two plans were proposed, one by Virginia, the other by New Jersey.

The large states supported the Virginia plan. This provided for three branches of government: a legislature made up of two houses, an executive and a judiciary. This was a new system, for under the previous arrangement Congress had only one house, and each state one vote. Under the new plan representation in the two houses was to be according to population.

The small states supported the New Jersey plan. Their population being smaller, they feared domination by the large states. They desired to continue the principle of equality of states. A compromise was reached, by which each state was to send two senators to the upper house, or Senate. This guaranteed equality of states in the Senate. In the lower house, or House of Representatives, representation was based on the population of the state.

Another problem was whether the slaves should be counted in fixing the population of the state, and thus the number of its representatives in the lower house. If they were to be counted the north felt that the south would have too many representatives. Again a compromise was made, by which five Negroes were counted as three whites.

A third problem concerned the control of trade. The south was an agricultural region preferring a low tariff which would enable it to buy manufactured goods cheaply; but the north was a manufacturing region and desired a high tariff to

keep out manufactured goods from foreign countries. In the compromise the south gave control of foreign and inter-state trade to the central government on condition that no tax should be placed on the export of agricultural products, and that Congress should not prohibit the importation of slaves for twenty years.

A new nation is born. So many amendments were made to the Articles of Confederation that the delegates had created a new constitution. When it was completed the Constitution was signed by George Washington and thirty-eight other delegates. Each state had to ratify it, and not all were in favour of it. Alexander Hamilton wrote a series of brilliant essays, explaining the Constitution he had done so much to create. By 1788 all the states had agreed to its principles except Rhode Island and North Carolina. These accepted the new Constitution within a year after it was adopted. Elections were held in February 1789. Washington, "first in the hearts of his countrymen," became President, an office which he held with distinction for two terms. He was inaugurated at the first meeting of the new Congress in April 1789.

The men who laid down the framework for the new nation succeeded in their task. This is borne out by the fact that since the Constitution was adopted there have been only twenty-one amendments, ten of which were made in the first ten years. Other countries, including Canada, faced by the problem of creating a nation out of deeply-

rooted differences, have examined the Constitution of the United States. Its principles may yet be the means by which the United Nations, faced with the problem of forming a strong world government from nations unwilling to surrender sovereignty, may arrive at a solution of that problem.

The government of the United States. The Constitution written by the delegates to the Philadelphia Convention remains, with some amendments, the Constitution under which the United States is governed today. The form of government that was planned there is, with a few changes, the same. Before we continue with the story of the United States, we should learn something about the form of government in that country.

Checks and balances in the Constitution. The problem of the delegates was to create a government which would bind the separate states into a nation, yet would permit each state to enjoy as many as possible of its liberties. To meet this problem a system of checks and balances between the three branches of government was devised. This was to prevent any one branch of government from abusing its power.

Congress, the law-making branch of government, is given broad powers in national affairs, chief of which is the right to levy taxes. Money bills to provide revenue originate in the House of Repre-

sentatives.

At Philadelphia much discussion took place about the office of head of the state. The Constitution provides for a President, and a VicePresident, to be elected by members of the Electoral College or people's representatives. The President is the chief executive. He is responsible for carrying out provisions of the Constitution and the enforcement of laws passed by Congress. He appoints, subject to the approval of the Senate, the members of his executive, who are called Secretaries of the departments they head. The President and his Secretaries are not members of Congress. This system is in contrast to the British and Canadian practice, in which the Prime Minister and his Cabinet Ministers are always members of the House of Commons, and must command a majority in the House of Commons on any major issue in order to retain office.

The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court and other federal courts. Its duty is to interpret the Constitution and to administer justice. Members of the Supreme Court are appointed for life by the President, subject to the approval of the Senate.

Before any bill becomes law it must be signed by the President who has the power to veto acts of Congress. Congress in turn can override the President's veto by a two thirds vote. Another check on the power of the President is that Congress has complete control of the power of the purse. The judiciary can curb the power of both the President and Congress by its interpretation of the Constitution and can declare null and void any legislation in which the President or Congress have gone beyond the



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Washington and His Cabinet

This picture shows the first Executive of the United States. Besides Washington there are Knox, Secretary of War, Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, Jefferson, Secretary of State, and Randolph, Attorney General.

powers granted them in the Constitution.

The President and Congress are given fixed terms of office so that the people can change both the executive and the legislature when these no longer enjoy their confidence. The President serves for four years and can be re-elected indefinitely. Senators serve for six years. Elections to the House of Representatives are held every two years.

A balance is preserved between the power of the national government and the power of the state government. Problems of a local character are reserved for the states but the central government is supreme in matters concerning the nation as a whole. A clause in the Constitution provides that "This Constitution shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges from every state shall be bound thereby."

No change can be made in the Constitution except on the request of two-thirds of Congress and any change has to be ratified by three-quarters of the states.

The new Constitution works. The nation was fortunate in its choice of Washington as its first President. His judgment, tact, and ability to work with others did much to dis-

solve differences and created the harmony necessary to ensure the success of the new federal government. He chose two remarkable men as Secretaries for two of the four departments he established. These were Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, as Secretary of State. These men had opposite views of government; the former wanted a strong central government; the latter held to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence of which he had been the author. He was always fearful of any power that would deny man "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

Hamilton introduced wise measures of financial reform and so made it possible for the nation to pay its way. The central government assumed the debts of the separate states, and established a Bank of the United States. Washington enforced the collection of

taxes which Hamilton levied.

Growth of political parties. Out of the Cabinet differences that developed between Hamilton and Jefferson, two political parties gradually emerged. The Federalist party followed Hamilton in seeking a strong central government. The Democratic Republican party defended state rights.

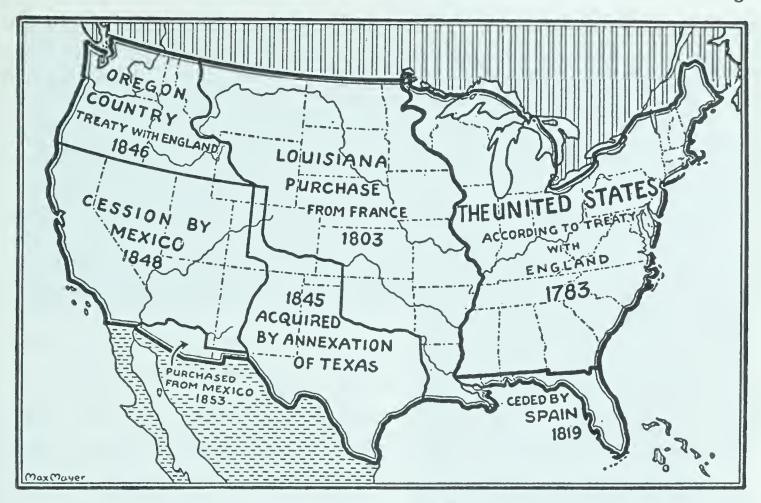
For many years party names changed, but the fundamental differences of centralization versus decentralization have continued. When third parties have appeared they have had a short existence, and have been in time absorbed by the two major parties. Always, however, they have had some influence on the policies of the parties which absorbed them. The major parties have, for many years, been called Democratic and Republican, growing out of the Democratic Republican and the Federalist parties respectively.

Chapter 4 — A Nation Expands Across a Continent

The movement from the seaboard. No story is more colourful or more characteristic of the United States than the movement of its people across a continent in continuing search of those opportunities that first attracted men to these shores. For one hundred and fifty years after the first settlement, colonization in the United States was confined to the narrow strip of territory between the Appalachians and the sea. Here was born the nation

that within a century was to expand three thousand miles until it reached the Pacific.

The influx of people from the thirteen original states, from Europe and Asia, and from other parts of the Americas, into the vast area of the west was bound to have a great effect on the character of the new nation. In the west, the struggle of pioneers for survival against wild animals, hostile Indians, and a stubborn soil created a hardy in-



A NATION ON THE MARCH
The young nation expands across a continent.

dividual, self-reliant, independent and ingenious.

What motives caused people to leave settled communities and go into the wilderness? Love of adventure and dislike of the settled life of an older community were two powerful motives. Explorers sought knowledge of new routes to the treasures of Asia; missionaries set out to bring the Christian gospel to heathens. Often it was the fur trader or hunter who went into the wilderness following the animals driven back by the progress of settlement. In the path of the adventurous—the explorer, the hunter, the missionary—came the settler with axe and plough, to carve for himself a home.

On to the Mississippi. When the power of France in America was destroyed by Wolfe's capture of Quebec in 1759, the backbone of

French-inspired Indian resistance in the Appalachian Mountains was also broken. It became possible for men to penetrate the dense forests and passes.

Those who ventured into this unknown region from the American colonies were called "long hunters" because they were compelled by the distances and difficulties of travel to be absent from their homes for long periods of time. Perhaps the greatest of the long hunters was Daniel Boone, who lived in the backwoods of North Carolina where he developed great skill as a hunter and woodsman.

Boone was attracted to the wilderness with its abundance of wild game and fertile land. Both of these sources of livelihood were rapidly being exhausted by the older settlements east of the Appalachians. A two year hunt took



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DANIEL BOONE

Typical of the woodsmen and hunters who led the advance into the wilderness, Boone was responsible for the founding of Kentucky.

Boone into the region of what is now Kentucky. On his return to North Carolina he reported the wealth of game and land to his neighbours who became enthusiastic at the prospect of plentiful free land and decided to move to the new district. They accepted Boone's leadership for the journey west. By 1796 so many people had migrated to this area that two new states, Kentucky and Tennessee, had been created and admitted into the Union. Planters with their slaves ventured into the south, and the states of Mississippi and Alabama were created.

The route these pioneers followed was cut through Cumberland Gap, a southern pass in the Appalachians by which the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers were reached. This route was called Wilderness Road and it became a highway by which thousands in the south-eastern states reached the Mississippi.

In the meantime, pioneers from the middle colonies were ascending the Potomac to its source, then over the height of land to the Monongahela River which they descended until it formed its junction with the Ohio at Pittsburgh. Settlers from the north-east colonies were pushing north to lay the foundations for two new states, Vermont and Maine. Others went west from Albany on the Hudson River along the Mohawk River valley crossing over either to the Great Lakes system or to the headwaters of the Ohio by which the Mississippi valley could also be reached.

Settlements in the Northwest Territory. Starting in 1781, the eastern states which had claims to territories in the north-west transferred these claims to the Congress of the United States. Congress tried to encourage settlement by giving large land grants to chartered companies which in turn sought to sell lands to settlers. This method failed to attract a sufficient number of people. In 1787 Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance Act to provide fair government for the people in this area. The Northwest Territory comprised the land bounded by Canada on the north, Pennsylvania on the east, the Ohio River on the south, and the Mississippi River on the west. The Ordinance provided for the creation of not more than five new states



Brown Brothers

CONESTOGA WAGON

The covered wagon was the principal means of travel across the continent.

from this territory when settlement warranted it, and admission to the United States whenever a single state had obtained a population of 60,000. Settlers were guaranteed religious and political freedom, and slavery was forbidden.

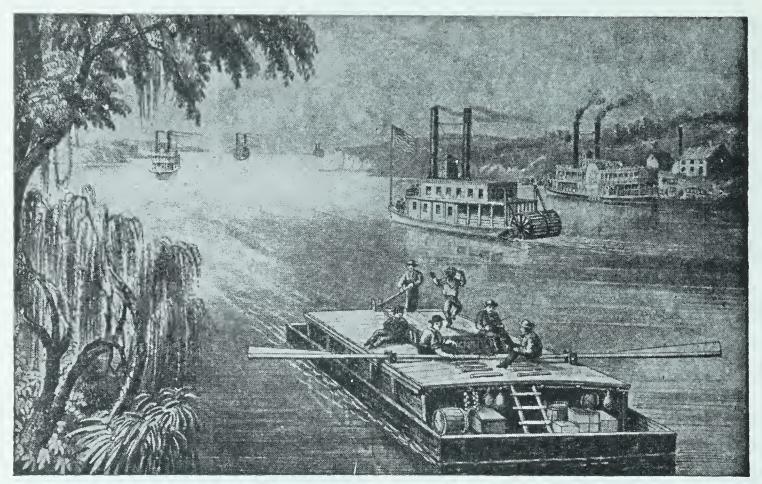
Settlers flocked into this new area by the thousands. By 1803 one district had reached a population of 60,000 and was admitted into the Union as the state of Ohio. Settlements founded at Cincinnati and Cleveland grew into important cities. By 1848 the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin were created and admitted into the Union.

Means of travel. In the south the Wilderness Road could, at first, only be travelled by pack horses. Later, however, when the road was widened, the Conestoga, or covered wagon, drawn by oxen, was used. These wagons were strongly built for the rough country through which they must travel. The floor was curved and a canvas cast over six or eight hoops was fastened down by rope to form a roof. Often

whole communities were on the move in covered wagons, with their farm animals driven by the men and boys, and all their worldly possessions loaded on the wagon. Advance scouts with their rifles rode ahead on the lookout for game which the main parties needed for their food supply.

In the north most people preferred to travel to Pittsburgh on the Ohio River. Here, boats of all sizes could be found for the nine hundred mile journey down the Ohio River to the Mississippi. Sometimes several families, combined in small parties, constructed flat boats on which were built houses. These were carried down stream by the current. They were steered by a stern sweep or extra long oar. The dangers of this voyage were great, because of the swift waters and the native Indians who resented the intrusion of the white man.

Life in the west. Life in the west was one long hard struggle for existence. Trees had to be felled, land broken and ploughed, and fields



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Bound Down the River

Though this picture of a flatboat moving down the Mississippi, makes the journey look leisurely and pleasant, Indians and swift waters made the journey of the settlers very dangerous.

made ready for crops. A man's success depended upon hard work. Most of these settlers were extremely poor. Their homes and furnishings were all built by hand. Children in such circumstances received their education by doing rather than by reading. Schools were a rare luxury.

The men who had founded the United States were financiers, law-yers, and powerful landowners, and from these classes members of the first Congresses were drawn. The western settlers, however, wished to be represented by men like themselves who understood their problems and could fight for their needs. They preferred to put their faith in a man who could plough, use an axe, or fire a gun. They disliked high sounding phrases which they

rarely understood.

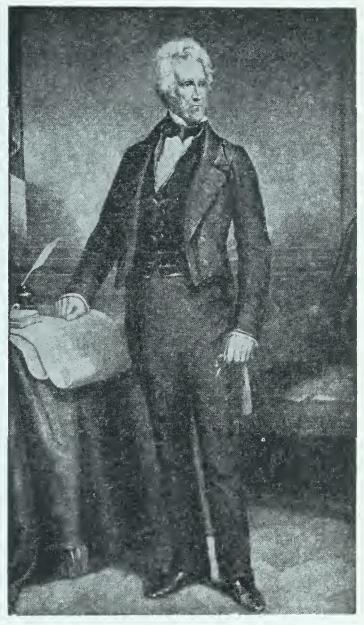
In 1800 the population of the west was only one-twentieth of the total of the United States. By 1830 it comprised one-third of the population. This rapid increase alarmed the older states and at times efforts were made to check the development of the west. These efforts were unsuccessful, however, and in 1829 the men of the west were powerful enough to elect Andrew Jackson President of the United States.

President Andrew Jackson's administration, 1829-1837. Up to this time all the Presidents had been from the New England States or Virginia. Of these only Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, although wealthy and a man of wide learning, had taken pride in identifying himself

with the spirit of the backwoodsmen, or pioneers. On many occasions he had shocked his associates in the capital at Washington with his simplicity of dress and blunt manners.

Jackson had a different background from his predecessors. He was born in North Carolina in 1767. From the age of fourteen he was forced to shift for himself. His early education was derived from his experiences as a backwoodsman, but he did manage to acquire some knowledge of law. He joined the trek of settlers that were moving into Tennessee. There he set up a law practice, and went into politics as a champion of people's rights. His experiences as a soldier resulted in his appointment with the rank of general in the United States army, and he became a national figure when he successfully defended New Orleans against the British attack in the War of 1812.

When he was inaugurated as President in 1829, the backwoodsmen of the west attended the ceremony in their muddy boots and frontier dress in celebration of a western political victory. The conservative eastern interests referred to the followers of Jackson as "King Mob," and frowned on their lack of dignity and culture. During Jackson's administration party names changed. The Democrat Republican party, which had elected Presidents Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, yielded to the western ideas of a new democracy with its slogan, "Let the people rule" and henceforth was called the Democratic party, a name which has



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Andrew Jackson

Backwoodsman, soldier and lawyer, his advent in the Presidency was hailed as a triumph for the people.

been retained to this day.

The opponents of Jackson's theories were called Whigs, after those Whigs in England who had repeatedly opposed the power of the crown. Like George III Andrew Jackson had ideas of a strong personal government for which, in ridicule, he was named "King Andrew." The Whigs later became known as the Republican party.

One of the first moves that Jackson made was to replace a large number of men in the government service by his friends. This wholesale dismissal of experienced gov-

ernment officials reduced the efficiency of the administration. The "Spoils System," as this method has come to be called, has continued to plague American politics to the present day.

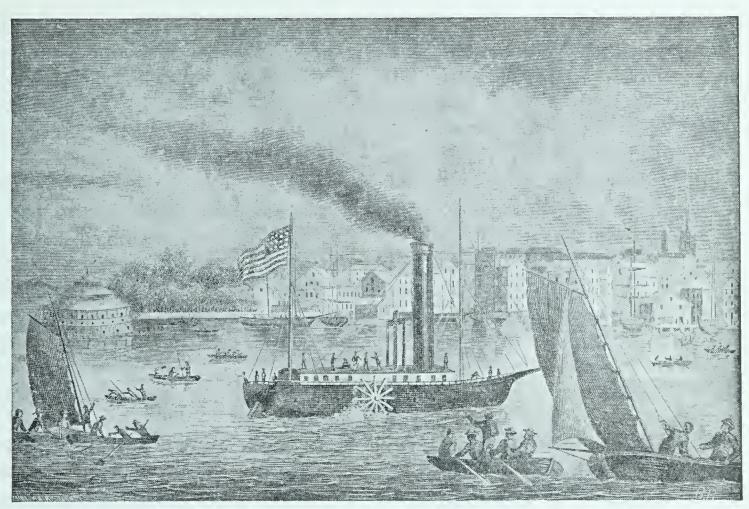
With the election of Jackson, the west emerged as a political force which exercised a strong influence on the major political parties. The Whigs who succeeded the Democrats in office in 1841 planned their campaign to appeal to the frontiersmen of the west as Jackson's Democrats had done. Both parties glorified the pioneer spirit, the simple life and the dignity of the common man.

Communication with the west. The great movement of people to the west created demands for improved means of communication with the eastern states.

The invention of the steam engine in Great Britain by James Watt, led to great changes in transportation. In 1807 an American, Robert Fulton, launched a steamboat, the *Clermont*, on the Hudson River. Steam power made it possible to transport goods against the stream, thus displacing the earlier flatboats which could travel only with the stream. In 1811 a journey by steamboat was made down the Ohio to the mouth of the Mississippi. Steamboats appeared on the Great Lakes also. Since the only outlet to the Great Lakes was the St. Lawrence River, controlled by Canada, the Americans by 1825 completed the building of the Erie Canal out of the Mohawk River. This established an all-American highway of commerce on the Great Lakes, by linking Buffalo on Lake Erie to Albany on the Hudson River in New York state. New York city thus came to control much of the commerce of the north-west. Businessmen in Baltimore and Philadelphia, not to be outdone by New York, supported plans for the building of a railway along the old route of the Potomac River which had been developed into a national road. This project became the Baltimore-Ohio Railway, the first line to reach the Mississippi River from the east.

Canals and short railways were built in large numbers in the eastern states, and the days of slow travel by stage coach and flatboat were rapidly drawing to a close in the areas east of the Mississippi River.

Explorations of the regions west of the Mississippi River. In 1803, when Thomas Jefferson was President, the territory of Louisiana was purchased from Napoleon, Emperor of France, for fifteen million dollars. This land between the Mississippi and the Rockies doubled the area of the United States. The following year Jefferson sent out an expedition under Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the new territory. The Lewis-Clark expedition, forty-five in number, set out in three boats from St. Louis, Missouri, in May 1804, to ascend the Missouri River to its source, a distance of 1200 miles. When Lewis and Clark reached the Great Divide, they crossed over to the Columbia River, and followed its treacherous course until they reached the Pacific Ocean in Nov-



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FULTON'S MONSTER

Great was the consternation on the Hudson River, when Robert Fulton's steamboat, the Clermont, appeared there in 1807.

ember 1805. By September 1806 they had made the return journey to St. Louis, having completed 8,000 miles of travel. This expedition provided detailed knowledge of the vast western country. Their accounts were widely read and soon fur traders were pushing into the west.

While Lewis and Clark were making their journey to the Oregon country, Capt. Zebulon Pike led an expedition to explore the headwaters of the Mississippi River. Later, starting from St. Louis, he travelled west and south exploring the regions of the present states of Colorado and New Mexico, territories which belonged to Spain. When he crossed the Rio Grande he was arrested by the Spaniards, but on proving that he meant

no harm he was released. When he returned he published a book in which he described the regions through which he had travelled and the prospects of the development of trade along the Santa Fe Trail, in New Mexico.

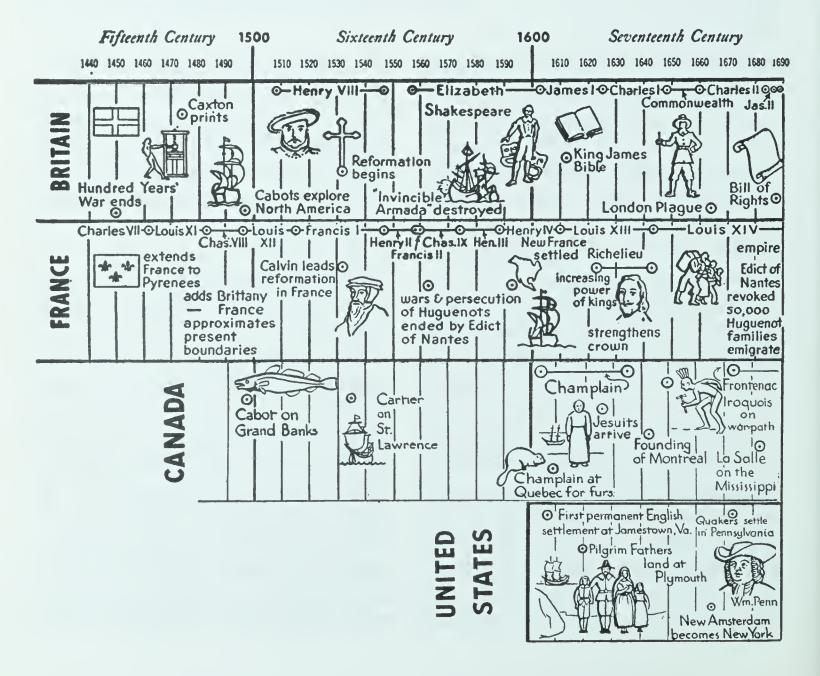
These explorations of the west resulted in a tremendous expansion of the fur trade. Companies were organized to develop this source of wealth. John Jacob Astor, a New York merchant, founded the American Fur Company in 1808, and the trade was extended to Oregon in the north-west. St. Louis, Missouri, became the distributing centre for the flow of goods into the west.

New states in the south-west. Settlers quickly followed the frontiersmen of the south-west, as planters were hungry for new land for the growing of tobacco and cotton. Soon Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas were admitted into the Union. In 1819 Florida was purchased from Spain for \$10,000,000, on condition that the United States should give up its claim to Texas.

At this time the Spanish colonies in America were in revolt. By 1823 Mexico had secured its independence, and claimed all former Spanish lands in North America. These included the present states of Texas, New Mexico and California. In 1823 there were 3,000 American settlers in Texas, but by 1835 this number had increased to 30,000. Since the language, custom, religion, and ideas of government of these people were different from those of the Mexicans they rose in

revolt against Mexico and declared themselves an independent republic with Sam Houston, their leader, as their first president. In 1845 Texas and Florida were admitted into the Union.

War with Mexico. Mexico refused to recognize the southern and western boundary claims of Texas and regarded the admission of Texas into the United States as a hostile act. In a short war the Mexicans were easily defeated and by a treaty in 1848, the United States acquired territories which eventually became the states of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Nevada, as well as parts of Wyoming and Colorado. In return Mexico received \$15,000,000 and a cancellation of her debts to the United States. In 1853 an



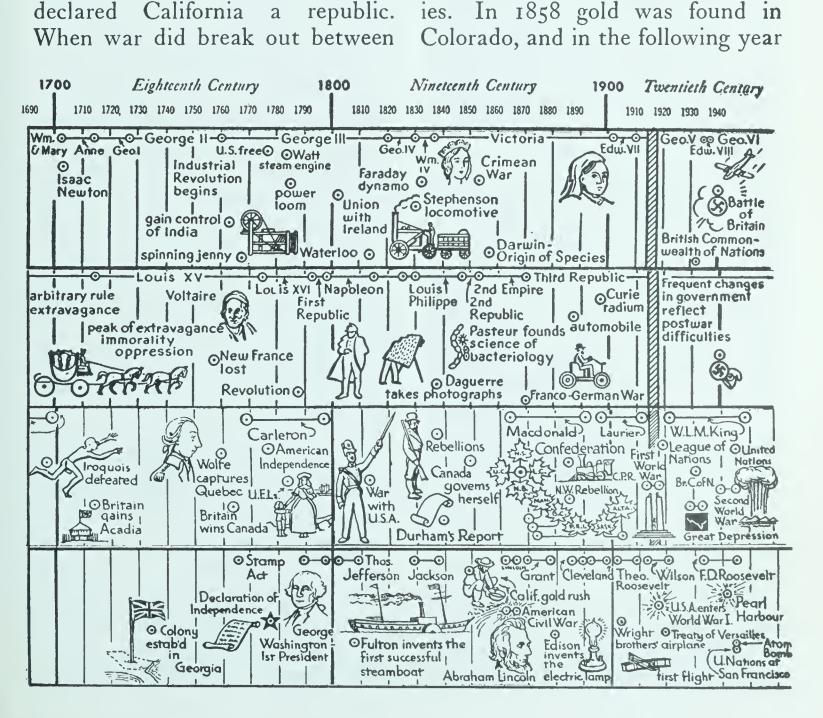
additional purchase of land was made from Mexico for \$10,000,000 to facilitate plans for the building of a southern railway to California.

California admitted to the Union. American hunters and trappers had drifted into the Mexican territory of California. Among these was a Swiss, John Sutter, who acquired a large tract of land near the Sacramento River. Sutter built a fort there which became the headquarters of the Americans in California. When war was anticipated between the United States and Mexico these people feared that Mexico would compel them to leave the territory, so they attacked a neighbouring Mexican garrison and declared California a republic. When war did break out between

the United States and Mexico, troops of the American army annexed California.

In 1847 a carpenter working for Captain Sutter by chance discovered gold when making a test operation of a sawmill that he had constructed. Nearly a year later the exciting news reached the eastern states, and the "forty-niners" as these gold hunters were called, rushed to California by every possible route. So great was the influx of the "forty-niners" that by 1850 California was admitted into the Union as a free state.

The gold rush to California resulted in a search for precious metals in other parts of the Rockies. In 1858 gold was found in Colorado, and in the following year



large silver deposits were found in Nevada. Thousands flocked to these regions and towns were built on the site of every "find," only to dwindle when deposits of the precious metals ran out. Prospectors, however, kept on the move in search of new treasures in Idaho, Montana, South Dakota, and in this way an increased knowledge of the interior was obtained.

The push into Oregon. Oregon in the early 1800's comprised the vast territory reaching from the northern boundary of California to the eastern slopes of the Rockies as far north as the Russian territory of Alaska. Spain, Russia, England, the United States and Canada had all claimed trading rights in the area. By 1825 Spain and Russia had withdrawn, and an agreement for joint occupation of the territory was reached by Great Britain and the United States.

No trouble resulted from this joint occupation until missionaries began to arrive in the 1830's to convert the native Indians. One of these, Dr. Marcus Whitman, was so enthusiastic about the prospect of bringing in settlers to take up the free land of the lower Columbia River that he encouraged a thousand men, women, and children to make the trek to Oregon. By 1845 several thousand people were journeying west by covered wagon.

Since the American settlers greatly outnumbered the British fur traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, a demand for annexation of this territory by the United States was made. American expansionists in the Democratic party supported

James Polk for President, on the election slogan of "54.40 or fight." 54°40' is the parallel of latitude of the southern boundary of Alaska and this would have given all of the present province of British Columbia to the United States. Polk won the election, but war with Britain was avoided.

In 1818 the 49th parallel of latitude had been chosen as the boundary between the United States and Canada from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies. The Oregon Treaty of 1846 continued this boundary line to the Pacific, thus compromising the conflicting claims of Great Britain and the United States in the north-west. Oregon was admitted to the Union in 1859. The Oregon territory had been divided in 1853. The northern part was admitted into the Union in 1889 as the State of Washington.

The Mormons move into a barren land. The Mormons were a religious sect possessing many views on religion that were very different from the older faiths. This difference in views resulted in the persecution of the Mormons in the eastern states. In their search for freedom of religion they established homes in Ohio and Illinois. In the latter state their leader, Joseph Smith, was killed in an anti-Mormon riot. In 1847, a new leader, Brigham Young, moved west with 15,000 followers into regions where they would be completely free from religious intolerance. Following the Platte River, they crossed the Rockies and settled in the vicinity of Great Salt Lake. An industrious people, the Mormons brought mountain

streams down into the desert and made of this unpromising land a fertile home. In 1896 this territory became the State of Utah, and was admitted to the Union.

Improved communication with the far west. By 1859 a railway linked the east to St. Louis, Missouri, but 2,000 miles of territory still separated this western railway terminal from the Pacific. The pattern of early eastern communication was transplanted to the west. Companies were formed to provide stage coach travel. These coaches accommodated only six or eight people, and the speed averaged about five miles per hour. Communities en route hailed with enthusiasm the arrival of the stage coaches as they brought news from the older settlements in the east. The journey itself was often hazardous. Attacks by the Indians, or masked bandits intent upon robbing the passengers and seizing the mail and express were frequent. Heavy goods were generally transported by the prairie schooners organized into long caravans and travelling at very slow speed. These were drawn by mules or oxen after the fashion of those settlers who had travelled the Wilderness Road into Kentucky more than a half century before.

To speed up mail service between St. Louis, Missouri, and Sacramento, California, a pony express was started in 1860. Each rider travelled seventy-five miles a day, changing horses at different stations along the way. These men developed great skill both as riders and crack shots, and many a western thriller of the circus, movie, or dime novel owes its origin to the wild west of these times.

For some time the idea of a railway into the far west was discussed, but the task of building one through plains, deserts and mountains seemed too difficult for private investors. Congress in 1862 made large land grants to two companies formed to undertake the project. One of these, the Union Pacific, was to construct a line west from Omaha, Nebraska; the other, the Central Pacific, was to begin construction east from Sacramento, California. By 1869 these two railway lines were joined at Ogden, Utah, near Salt Lake City, amidst great national excitement.

In this chapter we have witnessed the expansion of a nation across a continent, so that by 1853 its present continental boundaries, except for Alaska, were fixed. The problems, however, that grew from this expansion, set forces to work that almost destroyed the unity of the nation, and plunged the United States into a civil war.

Chapter 5 — "This Nation Under God Shall Have a New Birth of Freedom."—Lincoln

Problems of nation building. In the last chapter we saw how the people of the United States, for years penned in between the mountains and the sea, broke through the barrier of the mountains to claim a vast new continent and to expand their nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The new states, created by this great migration of people, were to add in full measure to the problems of the young nation. The capital at Washington was far distant from most of the states, and communication with it was difficult. The loyalty of the people, then, was to the state rather than to the nation. Under these circumstances it became increasingly difficult for the federal government to enforce federal laws where these conflicted with the wishes of a state. Of all the problems facing the new nation, none was more serious than the problem of states' rights.

The Constitution that was written at Philadelphia in 1787 was the result of compromises amongst the delegates to the Convention. Until 1854 compromise was used to settle the difficulties that arose between the new states and the federal government. In the middle of the 19th century, however, problems arose so grave that it was no longer possible to compromise them. So fundamental were the differences that eleven of the states seceded from the Union to set up a new

Confederacy. In the end a great civil war was fought to determine whether the nation should survive.

Factories and finance dominate the north; agriculture the south. Tremendous changes took place between 1750 and 1850 in the production of goods in England. This change from hand work to machine work was called the Industrial Revolution. As we have seen, the Industrial Revolution was not confined to England alone. The new ideas were introduced into the United States by English immigrants or by Americans who had studied the English methods. In 1794 an Englishman, Samuel Slatter, set up a spinning mill in Rhode Island. A little later Francis Lowell built a cloth weaving mill in Massachusetts. Soon a large number of textile mills, using water power, dotted the New England countryside. In 1846 Elias Howe invented a sewing machine which was soon improved by Isaac Singer. Thousands of these machines were manufactured and sold, and factories were built to manufacture clothes.

With the discovery of coal and iron deposits in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, factories were established in the north-east with steam used as the source of power. In 1834 a Virginian, Cyrus McCormick, invented a reaper. By 1857 he had succeeded in building a factory at Chicago for the manufacture of this implement as well

as other farm machinery. This made it possible for the men on the western plains to sow and harvest their crops with much less labour.

Shipping on the Atlantic coast increased as the new wealth of the interior poured out from inland transportation systems. Cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, with their railway terminals and port facilities, grew wealthy from trade and commerce. Mortgage and insurance companies, banks, and stock exchanges increased in number, and Wall Street, New York, was a name to be reckoned with in the nation's economic life.

In the south a man's wealth was measured in terms of his land. The feeling of the plantation owners was expressed by Thomas Jefferson when he wrote, "Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people." What industry did exist in the south produced goods for purely local use, and the large factory system of the north failed to make its appearance here because of the lack of coal and iron deposits. Instead, agricultural products such as rice, tobacco and cotton were extensively cultivated, and shipped to Europe in exchange for manufactured products.

These economic differences between the north and south were reflected in the political life of the nation.

England, because of its earlier start in industrial changes, could produce and export manufactured goods more cheaply than the infant industries growing in the northeastern United States. Hence factory owners through their representation in Congress wanted tariffs against foreign imports to protect their industries. The south and north-west, being agricultural regions, were opposed to paying heavy duties on goods brought into the United States and advocated

a policy of free trade.

During President Jackson's administration an increase in tariff was desired by the manufacturers. Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts was the principal spokesman in Congress for these interests. The south, on the other hand, desired free trade, or at best a low tariff. Sharp debates took place between Senator Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster on the issues of free trade versus protection; and out of these debates loomed the larger issue of the right of a state to cancel Acts of Congress that conflicted with the interests of the separate states. President Jackson was in favour of free trade. He was also in favour of a strong central government and opposed the right of any state to annul an act of the federal government. His Vice-President, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, defended the rights of states. The difference in points of view between President and Vice-President was evidenced at a banquet in 1830 in honour of Thomas Jefferson's birthday. Jackson proposed a toast to "Our Federal Union, it must be preserved." John C. Calhoun answered, "The Union next to our liberty, most dear! May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefits and burdens of the Union."

In 1832 Congress increased the tariff. Vice-President Calhoun and Senator Hayne resigned in protest because they believed that the Constitution had been violated. They took their fight to South Carolina where a convention was called by the legislature. This convention adopted "An Ordinance to Nullify Certain Acts of the Congress of the United States." The "certain acts" were the tariffs which the south regarded as being imposed by Congress for the protection and benefit of northern manufacturers.

South Carolina refused to pay the duties on goods imported into that state, threatening that if Congress used force to compel her to pay duties she would withdraw from the Union. President Jackson was determined to preserve the Union. He was at all times aided in this work by the oratory of Senator Webster, who summed up the doctrine of federal supremacy in the slogan, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable." A military force was sent into South Carolina to enforce the law. Further trouble was averted temporarily by the efforts of Henry Clay of Kentucky, who successfully urged Congress to reduce the tariff thus making it more acceptable to the south. Civil war was avoided at this time by this compromise, but the issue remained.

Issues in the Missouri Compromise. In the north the population had

increased rapidly owing to the new industries, and soon it was greater than that of the south. One result of this was that the north controlled the House of Representatives where state representation was based on population. In the Senate, however, as we have seen, each state was represented by two Senators. These two facts became very important when Congress was faced with the problem of slavery in the states.

In 1787 the Fathers of the Constitution were unable to agree on the power of the federal government to outlaw slavery. Instead they allowed each state to determine whether it should keep slaves or free them. They also reserved the right of Congress to stop the importation of slaves after 1808. This was done.

The outlaw of slavery by state action in seven of the original northern states by 1790 was partly owing to the humanity and ideals inherited from the Puritan settlers, partly to the growth of industry which required skilled labour which the slave could not provide. Immigrants rarely went to the south, for here slave labour invariably drove out free labour. Instead they established themselves in the northern regions where they found a demand for their skills. In the south, contrary to the hopes of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, slavery became more firmly established. This was partly caused by the invention of the cotton cleaning machine by Eli Whitney in 1793. This invention revolutionized southern agriculture. Up until this time only a small amount of cotton had been produced because of the difficulty involved in cleaning it. In contrast to the slow method of cleaning a few pounds a day by hand, several hundred pounds could be handled by each worker using the machine. The great demands for cotton for the new machines in England caused the planters to extend their lands into the south-west using slave labour which was an economic necessity.

In the area north of the Ohio River slavery was outlawed by the Ordinance of 1787 creating the territory. This set the pattern for free states in the expanding northwest. Mixed farming was the principal industry in this region, thus the people of the north-west had a common interest with the south in the maintenance of a low tariff on the goods they were compelled to buy. When the tariff issue, on the other hand, was over-shadowed by the issues of freedom versus slavery, the north-west after 1850 developed a common interest with the north-east to preserve the Union and check the expansion of slavery.

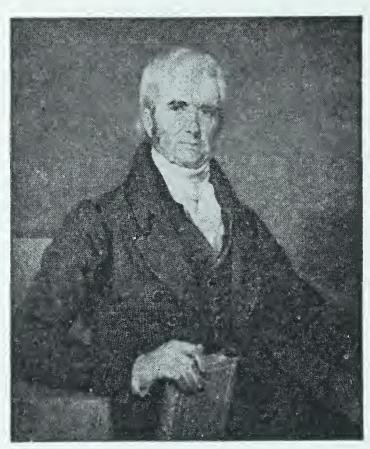
In 1790 there were seven free states north of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and six slave states south of this boundary. By 1819 eleven free states were north of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, and north of the Ohio River; and eleven slave states south of Pennsylvania and the Ohio River. Representation in the Senate was now balanced between the North and the South so that one section could not readily im-

pose its will upon the other.

In 1819 Missouri asked to come into the Union as a slave state. Its admission was supported by the South and opposed by the North because it would give the South a majority in the Senate. At this time Maine was also seeking admission into the Union so that a compromise was reached in 1820 through the efforts of Henry Clay of Kentucky. This Missouri Compromise admitted Maine into the Union as a free state, and Missouri as a slave state on condition that there should be no more slavery north and west of the southern boundary of Missouri.

People felt that the issues between North and South were settled, and Henry Clay was hailed as a great peacemaker. However, many in the south felt that Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in a state against the will of its people when the Constitution had reserved this right for the separate states. Some in the north were unhappy to see slavery permitted in new states to the west.

The Supreme Court and states rights. We have seen that the highest court in the United States is the Supreme Court, one of whose functions is to interpret the Constitution whenever differences arise that concern the well-being of the Union. Judgments handed down by this body have determined much of the history of the United States. One of the most famous of the Chief Justices of this Court was John Marshall who held that high office from 1801 to 1835, the period during which the Constitution was under



Culver Service

John Marshall

One of the greatest of the Chief Justicees of the Supreme Court of the United States, John Marshall held office from 1801 to 1835.

repeated attacks by those who advocated increased state rights. Marshall handed down many judgments favourable to the federal government.

There were times when the Supreme Court handed down judgments favourable to the states. This happened in 1857 when Chief Justice Taney declared that Dred Scott, a Negro slave from Missouri, did not become free when he returned to Missouri after having lived in free territory. It was held further that Congress could make no law concerning slavery in the territories, and that therefore the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional. This judgment aroused northern opinion on the slave issue, and many people questioned the decision.

The Compromise of 1850. In 1849 the people of California formed a state in which slavery was prohibited. The southern states opposed the admission of California to the Union. At the same time Alabama. supported by the other slave states, claimed the right to own slaves in the territories north and west of Texas which had been acquired from Mexico. This the North opposed. Again Henry Clay submitted to the Senate a plan of compromise which was accepted after much debate. California was admitted as a free state but when states were created in the territory gained from Mexico each state was to be permitted to make its own decision regarding slavery. Further, slave trade in the District of Columbia was abolished.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed through the efforts of an Illinois Democrat, Senator Stephen Douglas. In its place the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, sponsored by him, was passed by Congress. The Act allowed the people of the territory north and west of Missouri to choose, on its admission to statehood, freedom or slavery. Douglas believed in the sovereignty of the people and their right to choose for themselves. However, his Act was the cause of a local civil war. Kansas, west of Missouri, became a scene of bloodshed when southern slave owners and northern free men moved in to gain control of territory. The anti-slavery forces were successful and in 1860 Kansas was admitted to the Union as a free state.

The abolitionists. The story of the struggle for power between the northern and southern states was aggravated by the "abolitionists." These were groups of people in the northern states anxious to abolish slavery at once. One of their leaders, William Lloyd Garrison, a Boston printer, in 1831 published a paper called *The Liberator*, in which he tried to arouse the public against slavery.

The southerners tried to stop this agitation by forbidding the circulation of *The Liberator* in their states. They argued that the Negro was no worse off being a slave on the land than was the wage slave of the industrial north. They described northern working conditions as being worse than those

of southern plantations.

The abolitionists refused to obey federal fugitive laws which had been in existence since 1790, compelling the return of runaway slaves to their owners. They organized groups to help slaves to escape, and this method of helping the slaves came to be known as the underground railway. Escaped slaves found refuge among friends in the north who helped them to cross into Canada where they might gain freedom. Slavery had been abolished in the British Empire in 1833.

John Brown - "And his soul goes marching on." Have you ever sung the song, "John Brown's body lies a'mouldering in the grave"? This was the marching song of the antislavery forces of the North for whom John Brown was the idol. John Brown was born in Connecti-

cut in 1800. He was a religious fanatic who finally convinced himself that he was chosen by God to free the slaves. He lived in Ohio where he maintained a station for slaves on the underground railway into Canada. Later, with four of his sons, he fought against the agents of the slave owners in Kansas when the issue in this territory lay in the balance. In 1858 he and his followers met at Chatham, Ontario, to make extensive plans for the freeing of the slaves by force. In 1859 with a party of twenty-one he successfully seized government arms at Harper's Ferry on the Potomac River and captured the town. U.S. Marines, however, arrived in the evening and after a short struggle Brown was wounded and arrested. Later he was hanged for treason. By his death a martyr was given to the northern abolitionists. His name still lives in song; but his death made it impossible to settle the slavery question without war.

Life on the eve of the Civil War. By 1860 the United States was forming into two nations. Each had its own problems. In the north the growth of industry made workers increasingly dependent on manufacturers for jobs. By modern standards working conditions were bad and wages low. In a factory a man was paid about \$6.00 a week, a woman \$3.00 a week, and a child \$1.00 a week, for a twelve or fourteen hour working day. Some states, however, were beginning to show an interest in the worker's well-being by passing laws limiting a day's work to ten hours, and outlawing child labour. The move to improve working conditions was hindered by the immigrants from older countries who formed an endless supply of cheap labour.

In 1857 there was a severe depression when prices fell after the Crimean War. The unemployed gathered in the streets of the larger cities and demanded jobs. To solve the problem of unemployment, Congress glorified the spirit of the pioneer and encouraged a back-to-the-land movement. In 1862 a Homestead Act promised 160 acres of land to every man who would seek his fortune by hard work in the west.

The South had agricultural problems. The invention of the cottongin changed the relationship between planter and slave. In early times there were few slaves in the planter's service, and a kind master often took much personal interest and care in the well-being of his slaves. Thus the Negro enjoyed security and his life was not necessarily unhappy.

With the introduction of machines for the cleaning of cotton the estates became larger to meet the increased demands from textile mills in England and the northern states. Slaves were organized into large field gangs, managed by an overseer who was little interested in their well-being. Since agriculture was becoming "big business" the planter lost personal contact with his slaves in his search for profits.

No slaves were imported after 1808. Thus the value of the Negro slave increased so much that

cheaper white labour was introduced into the south. The lot of these "poor whites" was often worse than that of the slave on the plantation.

It must be remembered that many distinguished southern gentlemen did not own slaves, and were opposed to the practice of slavery, but in the issue of the extension of slavery they championed state rights against Congress.

A new political party is born. With the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, dissatisfied Whigs and Northern Democrats who were opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories organized the Republican party in 1854. Its first national convention was held in Chicago in 1856, and here was passed a resolution to the effect that slavery was "a great moral, social and political evil," and that it was the responsibility of Congress to outlaw slavery in the Territories. Henceforth, the South referred to the party as "Black Republicans," and threatened to secede from the Union if the Republican candidate for President should be elected.

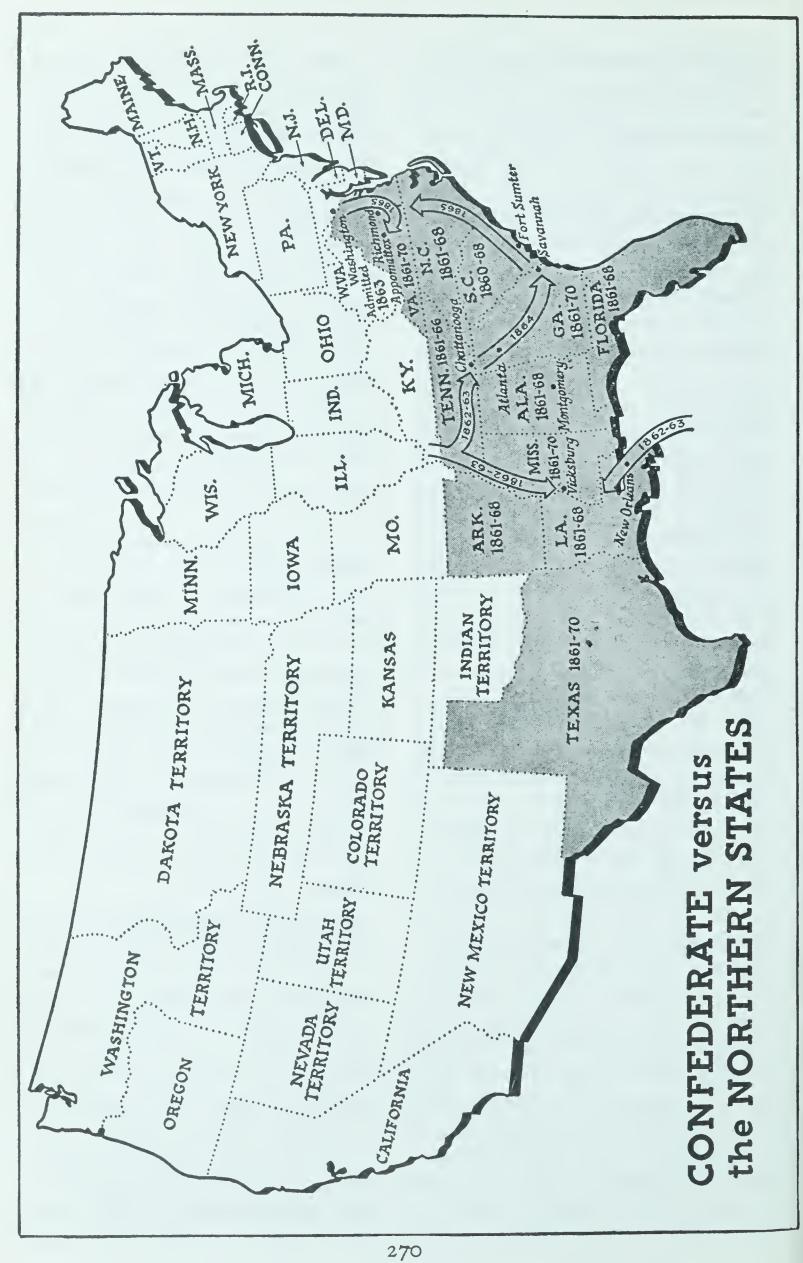
Abraham Lincoln. Once in a long time there appears in the passing parade of human events a personality who captures the imagination of men. Such was Abraham Lincoln. He was born in Kentucky in 1809. While Lincoln was still a boy his family moved to Indiana, then later to Illinois. The family's poverty and the pioneering life of a western wilderness developed in Lincoln qualities of honesty, sin-

cerity, and purposeful living. Frontier life did not permit more than one year of schooling, but he continued to educate himself by reading every book he could lay his hands on including the Bible, "Pilgrim's Progress," "Aesop's Fables," and Franklin's "Autobiography." Circumstances compelled him to work at many odd jobs, but it was his ambition to become a lawyer. He fulfilled this ambition and practised law in Illinois. Because of his interest in the wellbeing of people, he entered politics and served in the state legislature of Illinois and one term in Congress in 1846 as a member of the House of Representatives. He became rather unpopular for opposing the war with Mexico and he retired from politics. In the serious issues that were developing between North and South in the 1850's he reentered politics drawing support from the abolitionists and those who were opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories. In 1858 he was nominated for the Senate by the Republicans in Illinois, and during the campaign he became a national figure when he debated the issues of the day with his Democratic opponent, Stephen Douglas, author of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854. Seven famous debates placed the issues clearly before the nation. Although Lincoln did not win the election he so impressed the people that he secured the Republican nomination for President at a convention in Chicago in 1860. In the election which followed Lincoln faced three other candidates; two

of these represented the Democratic party which had become divided on the slave issue; and the third represented a group that was displeased with the racial ideas of the Republicans and the divided Democrats. Lincoln was elected.

The South formed a Confederate Union. Before the election the southern states had threatened to withdraw from the United States in the event of a "Black Republican" victory. When Lincoln was elected, South Carolina withdrew from the Union, declaring itself a free and independent nation. A little later an additional six southern states joined South Carolina. A convention of delegates of the seceding states was held at Montgomery, Alabama in 1861. Here a Constitution was prepared for a new nation, the Confederate States of America, with Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, its President. This union was soon joined by four more southern states. The border slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri did not withdraw from the Union and endeavoured to be neutral in the struggle.

Comparative strength of North and South in the Civil War. The population of the United States was now 31,000,000; 22,000,000 in the northern states and 9,000,000 in the southern states, of whom 4,000,000 were slaves. The industrial North could turn out speedily the implements of war, and with its wealth could readily buy goods abroad. In addition it possessed many miles of railway for the transport of goods, and an abundance



of horses and mules for use in the south where railways were few. Although it lacked warships, its merchant marine was soon outfitted with guns, and made ready for the blockading of southern ports.

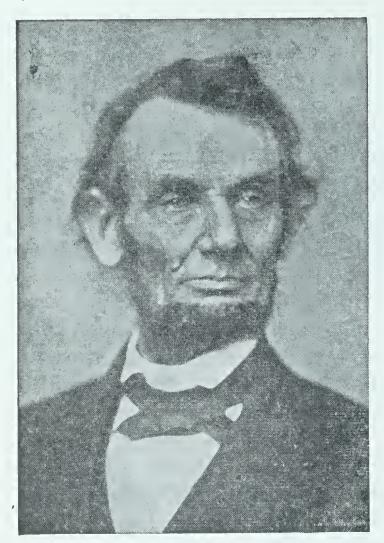
The South lacked well-established industries but quickly overcame this handicap by building factories for the manufacture of guns and ammunition. Birmingham, Alabama, became the centre of the iron industry. It was hoped that the countries of Europe would intervene on behalf of the southern states, for textile manufacturers in the Old World needed southern cotton. The South could only exchange cotton and other agricultural products for the goods it received from Europe. When the North blockaded the ports of the South, help from Europe ceased.

The South lacked many industrial products and, on the whole, fought a defensive war, using to advantage its fund of well trained officers. The Negroes displayed devotion and loyalty to their masters by producing the agricultural goods necessary to the waging of the war.

The South surrendered to the overwhelming strength of the North. Fighting started when the Confederate army bombarded Fort Sumter in South Carolina after Lincoln had refused to withdraw federal troops at the request of the South. Both sides proceeded to raise large armies and soon compulsory service was necessary. The northern armies attempted to invade the South so as to capture Richmond in Virginia, the capital of the Confederate Union. They were stopped in the Battle of Bull Run by General T. J. Jackson of whom it was said, "He held his ground like a stone wall." He was thereafter known as Stonewall Jackson. The Union armies were compelled to retreat to Washington. Several changes were made in the Union command. Although the southern armies were smaller and poorly equipped their leaders were masters of strategy. Besides, they were fighting for their homes and their own way of life.

The southern armies were in command of General Robert E. Lee, a distinguished Virginian, who had resigned from the United States army earlier rather than take up arms against his native South. General Lee twice led his armies north. In 1862 he invaded Maryland and was checked. The next year he moved into Pennsylvania. Here, at Gettysburg, one of the most bitter battles of the Civil War was fought. The northern armies gained the victory though at a terrible cost, and Lee was compelled to retire south of the Potomac River.

In the west the northern armies under General Grant successfully divided the Confederate forces by gaining control of the Mississippi River. In this he was aided by Admiral David Farragut, who was responsible for the capture of New Orleans. Grant was made Commander-in-Chief after Gettysburg, and in 1864 he succeeded in besieging General Lee who was encamped at Richmond. General Sherman, at the head of another northern army,



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THE GREAT EMANCIPATOR

Few men have captured the imagination of the people of all nations like Abraham Lincoln who guided his country through the tragic years of the Civil War.

advanced into Georgia. He destroyed Atlanta, and began his famous march to Savannah on the coast, laying waste an area 60 miles wide, for a distance of 345 miles. From Savannah he proceeded northwest to South Carolina and thence into North Carolina. The struggle of the Southern states was now hopeless. In April, 1865, General Lee surrendered to General Grant near Richmond, and a short time later a second southern army surrendered to General Sherman.

Eleven seceding states had been defeated by the overwhelming power of the North. The Union was saved, but at a terrible cost of life and destruction of property.

Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War. Abraham Lincoln became President at a most perilous time of the nation's history. In his inaugural address to Congress, March, 1861, he declared that the Union was perpetual. He denied the right of any state to withdraw, and said that he would carry out the law in all the states and use force only if the federal authority was challenged. Concerning slavery he said, "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so." He did, however, oppose its extension into the territories.

On many occasions his responsibilities were increased by petty jealousies among his generals and rivalries within his Cabinet, and by the abolitionists who insisted on the immediate liberation of the slaves. To the latter Lincoln replied, early in the war, that "my paramount object is to save the Union and not either to save or destroy slavery." A little later, however, he felt that the war with the southern states was developing into a moral issue in which the principles of every man's right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" contained in the Declaration of Independence were at stake. This, coupled with the hope that the slaves, if freed, would fight for the northern cause, led Abraham Lincoln, after giving due warning to the South, to issue on New Year's Day, 1863, the Proclamation of Emancipation by which

slaves in states at war with the Union were freed. In November, 1863, at a ceremony in which the site of the Battle of Gettysburg was made a national cemetery, Lincoln made what came to be his most memorable speech. He said, in part, "Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal . . . We here highly resolve . . . that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

He was re-elected in 1864 and proceeded to make plans for the reconstruction of the South. In a short message to Congress he showed no bitterness as a result of the struggle but a spirit of friendship and genuine sympathy when he said that the task should be carried out "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

The nation was shocked and full of sorrow when Lincoln was assassinated by a southern sympathizer. He died April 15th, 1865. The life of no President has been more studied than that of this humble man who, by his courage and resolution, saved the Union and made it free.

Chapter 6 — Democracy on the March

Reconstruction of the south. Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, became President on Lincoln's death. His task was to reconstruct the South. Like Lincoln, he desired tolerance, understanding and sympathy for the Confederate army, planters, and Negroes, but he lacked friends in Congress and the confidence of the nation. In the south many had felt betrayed when Johnson, himself a southerner, had joined the anti-slavery and anti-secession Republican party. In the north he was unpopular because of his lenient policy toward former rebels. A Congress dominated by merciless radical Republicans ignored his plans for reconstruction and embarked upon its own policy of ruthlessness against

a helpless and defeated people. When Johnson attempted to check it he was tried for misconduct by the Senate but was found innocent.

The two major parties control the nation. The defeat of the South resulted in a great reduction in the power of the Democratic party, and the agricultural interests it served. During the period between 1789 and the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 Democratic Presidents held office for fifty-two years, but in the eighty-three years following the outbreak of the Civil War to the present time the country has been governed by Republican Presidents for a total of fifty-six years. The Republican party, born in the west, in defence of human rights, was soon dominated by the industrial

and financial interests of the country. The two major parties have controlled the affairs of the United States since the Civil War.

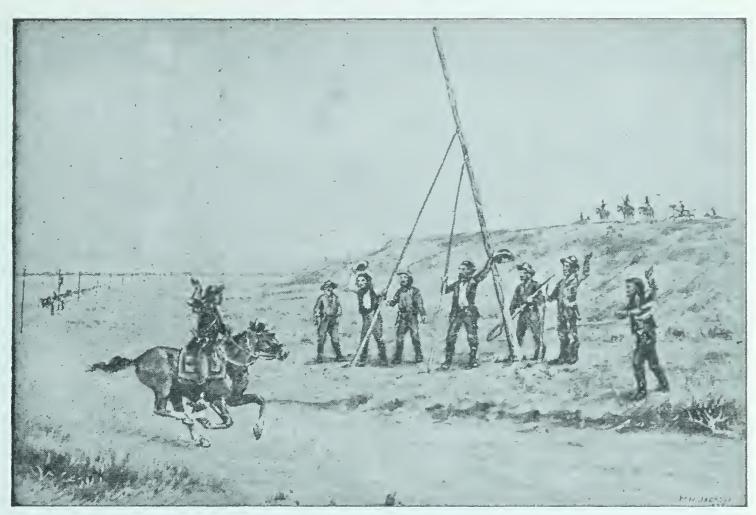
Free enterprise. The Civil War might be called the Second American Revolution because it completely changed the nation's ways of making a living. Before the war the nation was dominated by plantation interests, creating wealth out of a slave system. Now the development of natural resources by settlers in search of further opportunities created a new spirit. Each man now claimed for himself the right to work and obtain wealth. To do this he kept alive the spirit of free enterprise which meant that all men should have equality of opportunity in the competition for the nation's wealth. This he felt he was entitled to because he lived in a country in which any man could, by his own effort, become rich, and nearly every man tried. Repeatedly, the national will has endeavoured to preserve the principle of free enterprise by regulating and controlling any person or organization that seemed bent on destroying the economic freedom of the individual.

New transcontinental railways. The completion of the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railways in 1869 ushered in other ambitious railway schemes that united all sections of the country and permitted the flow of raw products to centres of manufacture, or to ports for shipment overseas. The Northern Pacific Railway from Minneapolis, Minnesota, to Seattle, Washington and the Southern Pacific from New Orleans to California were con-

structed. Next came the Santa Fe Railway into Mexico and Lower California, while in the north-west James J. Hill, a Canadian, constructed the Great Northern from Minneapolis-St. Paul to Washington on the Pacific Coast. These railways connected with a large number of the older and shorter lines that had been constructed from the Atlantic seaboard to the industrial cities of the middle-west. Many of these transcontinental schemes involved heavy money outlays, and the government made generous gifts of money and land to the promoters. This resulted in numerous scandals and the public charged the politicians with dishonesty.

Railways and settlers bring an end to the American frontier. The construction of the transcontinental railways changed the character of the vast region between the Mississippi and the Rockies. For many years this area was called the Great American Desert, and pioneers bypassed it on their journey to California and Oregon. It was thought that the region would never offer opportunities for successful settlement. The first Americans to take advantage of these lands were the Rangers, or soldiers who had subdued the Comanche Indians Texas, taking possession of the wild horses and cattle which roamed the plains. The Ranger turned cowboy, making his livelihood by the raising and selling of cattle.

Since fences were unknown in the wild west many ranchers combined their herds for grazing and branded their cattle so as to identify them. After the round-up the



Courtesy of the Western Union Telegraph Co.

THE OLD AND THE NEW MEET

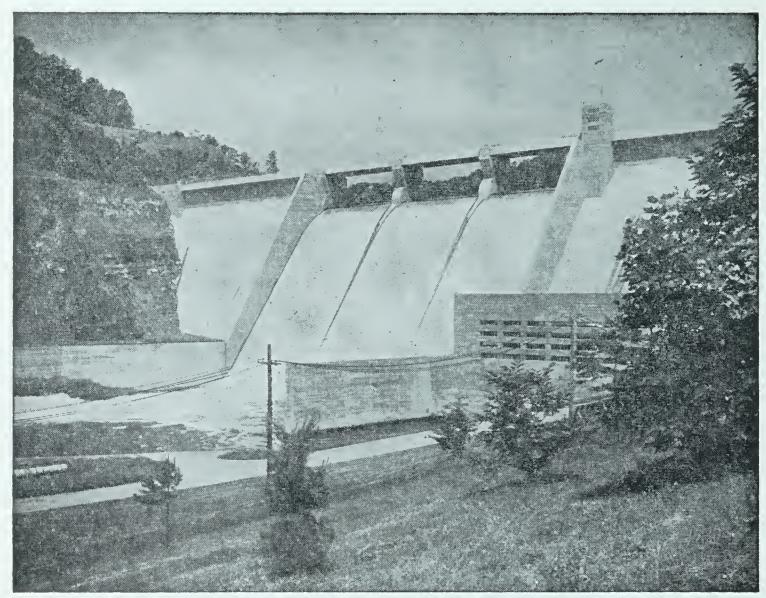
A Pony Express rider passes linemen erecting the first transcontinental telegraph line.

cowboys made the "long-drive" northward with their cattle to the railway lines. Here the stock was sorted out and shipped to market. The demand for cattle in the industrial east, coupled with new methods of canning and refrigeration, brought wealth to many cowboys who became ranchers.

The railways made it possible to ship cattle, but they also brought in settlers whom the ranchers referred to as "nesters." Most of these settlers were from the older states, but thousands of Germans, Swedes, Norwegians and Danes poured into the north-west. These settlers faced many hardships. Wood was scarce on the prairies, thus sod huts were built. The problem of enclosing fields against wandering cattle was reduced by the invention of

barbed-wire. In addition the settlers had to contend with drought, grasshoppers, and threats of extermination by Indian bands or hostile cattle-men.

The frontier disappeared with settlement, and new states were born. In the latter half of the 19th century Minnesota, Kansas, Nevada, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Montana, Washington, Wyoming, Idaho and Utah were admitted into the Union. The turn of the century saw the entry of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona. Forty-eight states now made up the Union. In 1870 the population of the west was 1,500,000 but by 1940 it could boast of 24,000,000 people. The variety of the people living in this area has exerted a tremendous influence in shaping the



From Ewing Galloway

Power For An Industrial Nation

One of the great dams in the Tennessee Valley Authority's chain.

nation's destiny along the paths of preserving freedom.

The tremendous industrial growth of the United States. The need for goods to supply and maintain the Union armies during the Civil War resulted in the enlarging of factories, which paved the way for mass production in industry. The demand for food developed new methods of production. The natural wealth of the country attracted a great amount of foreign money for investment. Immigrants supplied an unending abundance of cheap labour particularly in the new industrial cities. Lastly, the government, dominated by the Republican policy of maintaining a high

tariff, gave every encouragement to the growth of industry. Thus a large home market was protected for manufacturers who had little to fear from competition abroad.

Starting about 1850 business organization also changed. Earlier, business enterprise was conducted by individuals or partnerships. Now, however, there was need for large sums of money to undertake enterprises like railway building, which individuals could not embark upon alone. Corporations were formed; that is, organizations in which many people act as one body. In addition there were trusts, a type of business in which several companies join together to remove

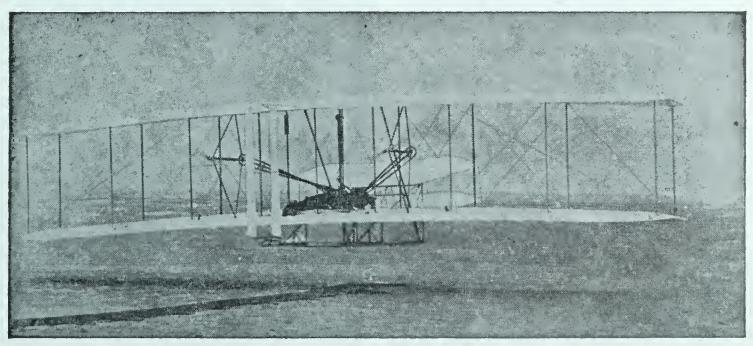
competition. These business organizations made it possible for a single person or a group of people to gain control of an enterprise by acquiring over half of the interest of the corporation or trust.

New sources of industrial power. For many years coal provided the chief source of fuel for power, but the invention of electric motors soon led to the development of other sources of power. The federal government has developed huge power projects, such as Boulder Dam on the Colorado River. Similarly, in the south an abundance of power has been supplied by the development of the Tennessee River. A third source of power was supplied by the discovery of oil. The first wells were located in Pennsylvania, but new fields were discovered in scattered parts of the Union, the more important areas being Texas, Oklahoma, and California.

For the future, the United States possesses a source of unlimited power in the closely-guarded secrets of the development of atomic energy. This may change the whole structure of industrial activity. The problems involved, concerning the use in peace and war of this new form of power, are the challenge to the statesmen of our age.

The Americans are an inventive people. The development of new sources of power in the land of the free encouraged men to invent and improve machines, engines, and instruments that have added many comforts and pleasures to American life. Many changes took place in transportation and communication. A young man, George Pullman, increased travel comfort by designing a sleeping car in 1864, and later a dining car. Railway travel hazards were reduced when George Westinghouse developed air brakes. Today trains, many of them streamlined, speed over 230,-000 miles of track—a gigantic system of transport unequalled by any other nation.

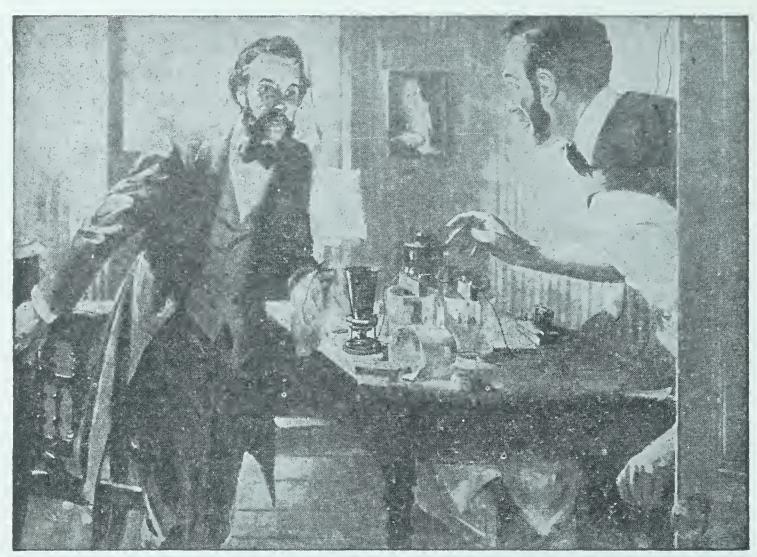
Water transportation was revo-



Culver Service

AN HISTORIC FLIGHT

Orville Wright's plane is just leaving the ground in the first controlled power-driven flight of a man-carrying aeroplane. Can you find Wright?



Courtesy of Bell Telephone Company of Canada

"Mr. Watson, Come Here; I Want You"

Dr. Bell's assistant is seen here entering his room in response to the first complete sentence spoken over a telephone.

lutionized by Captain John Ericsson, an American of Swedish origin, who constructed the first iron ship, *The Monitor*, which was used effectively by the northern states in the blockade of southern ports during the Civil War.

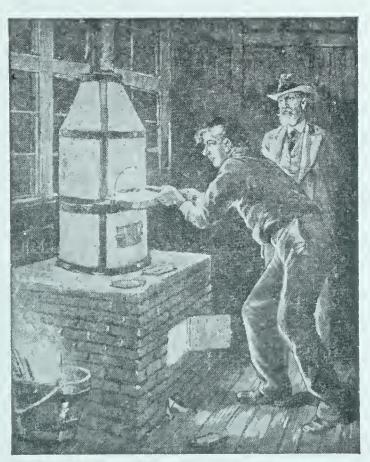
Shortly after the turn of the 20th century Henry Ford initiated the mass production of motor cars. His Model T was a low priced car within the reach of everyone. Detroit became the centre of the automobile industry with many other companies copying Henry Ford's methods.

The motor cars created the need for better roads and highways were built throughout the nation in response to the demand of car owners.

The rapid changes in transportation on land and sea were soon to be eclipsed by the realization of one of man's most persistent dreamsto be able to fly. This invention was pioneered by a physics professor, S. P. Langley of Washington, D.C. In 1903, after several years of research, he made his first flying machine. While making a test flight the machine was wrecked. The same year in North Carolina, Orville and Wilbur Wright succeeded in flying a plane which they had constructed. They were little recognized for five years, but during this time they improved the machine and began the manufacturing of biplanes. As a result of flights in Paris they received awards from

the French Academy of Sciences, and in 1909 the United States government purchased their machines for army use. World War I speeded up the aeroplane industry, and peace brought the development of its commercial use. During World War II air power became a major weapon in the waging of a successful war and every nation sought technical improvements in its aircraft. The arrival of the air-age has put the United States in the forefront of this kind of transportation. Credit for the achievement can be given to such famous fliers as Charles A. Lindbergh, Howard Hughes, Wiley Post, and Eddie Rickenbacker.

In the spring of 1947 an American, Milton Reynolds, in his plane, *The Bombshell*, established a new



From Ewing Galloway

Edison in His Laboratory

This drawing shows Edison about 1877 at Menlo Park carrying out experiments with carbonised paper for his system of electric light.



Thomas A. Edison, Inc. From Ewing Galloway

THOMAS ALVA EDISON His experiments in electricity changed our whole existence.

round-the-world flight record of seventy-eight hours, fifty-five minutes, fifty-six seconds.

Changes in transportation were accompanied by improved methods of communication. In 1844 Samuel Morse, an art teacher, successfully demonstrated his invention of the telegraph by sending a message from New York to Baltimore. A little later Alexander Graham Bell. a Scot who had lived in Canada, moved to Boston where he was a teacher of speech. In 1876, after years of work, he succeeded in finding an apparatus that would convey sound to the deaf. Further development led to the invention of the telephone. In 1901 an Italian, Marconi, received the first wireless

message transmitted from Cornwall, England, across the Atlantic to Newfoundland. This discovery of the wireless was followed by numerous improvements by Lee DeForest, an American, and other scientists, and by the late 1920's radio had become an established and popular means of communication.

Although many Americans can be credited with inventive genius, the name of Thomas Alva Edison is perhaps best known to the world. This remarkable man was born in 1847, the son of a rebel who had fled from Canada to the state of Ohio during the Rebellion of 1837. His interest in physics resulted in many practical achievements, and he successfully patented over twelve hundred of his inventions. gramophone and the electric light bulb were two of his outstanding inventions. In October, 1929, a dinner was held in honour of Thomas Edison in celebration of the Electric Lights Golden Jubilee. To the many tributes that were given to Edison, he replied, "I would be embarrassed at the honours that are being heaped on me were it not for the fact that in honouring me you are also honouring that vast army of thinkers and workers of the past and those who carry on, without whom my work would have gone for nothing. If I have spurred men to greater effort and if our work has widened the horizon of man's understanding . . . I am content."

The Americans are a liberty-loving people. The motto on the seal of the United States government reads

in Latin "E pluribus unum." This can be translated, "Out of many, one," and the motto well sums up the work that has been accomplished in founding a great nation.

Creating national unity has been difficult because of the differences of origin and outlook of the American people. Its growth has depended upon certain ideals upon which the nation was founded. Chief amongst these have been a love of liberty, and a fierce desire to resist tyranny in whatever shape it may appear.

The west demands reform. Changes in a democracy do not come quickly. People must organize and discuss their problems to determine what action must be taken in order to correct the evils in the system.

In 1867 a farmer's movement called the "Grange" was organized to improve the social and economic life of the farmer. In 1873 a financial panic followed by a depression hit the nation. Banks failed and prices of farm products tumbled. Money and credit disappeared, and the farmer who had borrowed more than he could repay experienced great hardship. Under these circumstances the Grangers entered politics and soon controlled many state legislatures in the west. These states bitterly attacked the inactivity of the federal government, the monopoly tactics and unfair charges of the railways. Some states passed laws to control the railways, and in 1877 the Supreme Court defended the rights of states to interfere in railway policies. In 1886, however, the Court upset its earlier judgment by de-



From Ewing Galloway

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON

The beautiful Capitol is located on a hill overlooking the city of Washington, and the Potomac River.

claring that interstate trade and commerce came under the control of the federal government. This judgment was followed in 1887 by the passing of the Interstate Commerce Act by Congress. This Act established a measure of control over the railways.

In the same year Grover Cleveland, the first Democratic President since the Civil War, denounced the high tariff duties levied by Congress and tried to have them lowered. This reform was not acceptable to the Republican Congress, and Cleveland was defeated in the election of 1888. He was succeeded by Benjamin Harrison, a Republican, who worked in harmony with a Republican Congress.

The farmers in the west and

south remained dissatisfied with a federal government controlled by eastern industrial interests. In 1892 western farmers united with wage earners in many cities to form a Populist or People's Party of America. This party wanted an increase in the amount of paper money in circulation, believing that this would secure higher wages for industrial workers and higher prices for agricultural products. This is called inflation. When the Populist party failed to gain control of Congress it merged with the Democratic party in 1896 to aid in the campaign of William Jennings Bryan for President. This man was an orator of note from Nebraska who believed that more money could be put into circulation by

using more silver in currency. In a famous speech he expressed the feelings of the south and west against the eastern "sound money banking interests" when in reference to their activities he declared, "you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." Many Democrats bolted the party because of Bryan's radical ideas, with the result that W. J. McKinley, a Republican, was elected President. In 1900 McKinley was re-elected, but in September 1901 he was the victim of an assassin. His successor was Theodore Roosevelt.

Theodore Roosevelt champions a "Square Deal." Many definitions have been made of American democracy but one of the finest is that credited to Theodore Roosevelt when he stated that, "This great Republic means nothing unless it means the triumph of a real democracy, the triumph of popular government, and in the long run, of an economic system under which each man shall be guaranteed the opportunity to show the best that there is in him." Little wonder, then, that old-guard Republicans felt considerable alarm when Roosevelt, a young man of forty-three with radical tendencies, became President. In his inaugural address to Congress he announced the pattern of necessary reforms, and during his two terms of office his resolute will was directed toward putting his words into action.

Labour problems, too, received the attention of the President. In 1902 a serious coal strike threatened the nation and Roosevelt played a leading part in trying to get a "square deal" for the employers, employees, and the public. He established boards of arbitration, and recognized the rights of labour to form unions. This was a new approach to the settlement of industrial disputes. Public interest was protected in 1903 by the creation of the Departments of Labour and Commerce entrusted with the responsibility of administrating legislation in these fields. Other Rooseveltian reforms called for an increase in the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the introduction of pure food laws. Departments of Reforestation and Soil Reclamation were set up to protect the country's natural resources. At the same time Roosevelt exposed the wasteful methods of many private owners who had received government timber, and mineral concessions.

Although Roosevelt did not realize his aim of a "square deal" for all, he laid down a pattern for reform which was followed by successors in the Presidency.

Roosevelt was followed in office by his friend William H. Taft. A Republican party squabble, however, caused Roosevelt to seek the nomination against his friend in 1912. When Taft was nominated, Roosevelt formed a third party, the Progressive or "Bull Moose" party. As a result, both Taft and Roosevelt were defeated, and the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, was elected.

Woodrow Wilson achieves liberal reform. Woodrow Wilson held office for two terms as President of the United States. During his presidency, the tariff was reduced and many food stuffs were admitted duty free.

No Congress, with the exception of that which brought into being the Constitution of the United States, had ever before passed so many laws within a period of four years as did that in President Wilson's first term.

The entry of the United States into World War I in 1917 took the nation's attention from domestic issues to foreign affairs, and the winning of the war. Wilson threw all his energy into the struggle, and played an active part in the treaty making, and the creation of the League of Nations, an organization which he hoped would maintain world peace. But the nation, war weary and afraid of foreign entanglements, refused to follow him into the structure which he had done so much to create.

From 1920 to 1932 the Republican party dominated Federal politics under the successive administrations of Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover.

The prosperous 20's and hungry 30's. A "return to normalcy" was Harding's advice to a people anxious to get back to a peace-time basis, free from the government control which war had imposed. The whole country was restless; strikes were general, prices were very high and industrial plants were slow to convert from war to civilian production. The government appeared indifferent toward the numerous problems, and seemed to place its trust in business leadership. By 1925 the United States was head-



Culver Service

CHAMPION OF "THE SQUARE DEAL"

Theodore Roosevelt, Republican President, was one of the great reform presidents of the United States. He also helped build a strong navy for his country.

ing for a tremendous boom. A speculating fever gripped the nation and prices of stocks and bonds soared to new heights. It seemed as though the nation was bent on a spending spree; and a wave of lawlessness accompanied this. In 1929 the bubble burst when stock market prices began to tumble. Money was difficult to borrow, factories closed and soon millions were unemployed. The world followed the United States into a severe economic depression. President Hoover tried in vain to stem the tide of falling prices. His task was made more difficult by the fact that he, Republican President, had a Democratic Congress from 1930 on. In 1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Democratic governor of New York state, and a distant relative



From Ewing Galloway

Woodrow Wilson

Mr. Wilson was President during World War I and played an active part in the formation of the League of Nations.

of Theodore Roosevelt, was nominated for President by the Democrats, and elected on a platform of a "New Deal for the forgotten man." The term applied to the vast army of unemployed, numbering in 1932 approximately 12,000,-000.

The New Deal. No President ever faced so vast a social problem of unemployment as President Roosevelt. Bold leadership was required at this time, and it was found in President Roosevelt's statesmanship, backed by a Democratic Congress. He summoned to the White House trained men in various fields to act as his advisors.

This group became known as the "Brain Trust." He took the nation into his confidence in a series of informal radio chats to keep the people informed on the major issues.

In 1933 matters became extremely serious when numerous banks failed. The President closed every bank in the United States and declared a "Bank Holiday." As soon as federal bank examiners found a bank's investment sound it could re-open for business, but was forbidden to pay out gold, and people who had hoarded this precious metal were ordered to return it to the banks. Bank accounts became payable in paper currency only. The President called a special session of Congress and asked for practically unlimited power to embark upon policies which he thought were necessary to end the depression. Congress gave him this power, and at the President's request passed many emergency measures. Numerous agencies of the federal government were established to administer this legislation. These included Departments of Relief, Public Works Projects, and a Forest Conservation programme employing many thousands of young men. Plans to strengthen the business structure of the nation were contained in the National Industrial Recovery Act (N.I.R.A.) and the Agricultural Adjustment Act (A. A.A.). The N.I.R.A. tried to increase employment by shortening the work week to forty hours, and outlawing child labour. Maximum and minimum wages were fixed in industry, and the employee's right to form unions was recognized. The A.A.A. tried to give the farmer a greater share of the nation's income by placing a floor under prices and exercising control over the amount of production and the systems of distribution.

The Supreme Court declared much legislation unconstitutional and President Roosevelt threatened to increase the number of judges of the Court, or compel the retirement of its older members. This attempt to pack the Court with judges favourably disposed to the administration aroused the nation and the President was compelled to abandon the scheme. Changes by retirement or death of certain members of the Court gradually occurred, making it possible for the President to make new appointments without violating the Constitution.

Roosevelt was re-elected in 1936, in 1940, and in 1944. Never before had a President held office for more than two terms. But the energy and vision with which President Roosevelt attacked the problems that faced him in 1932 seemed to make him an ideal leader for a nation at war. Few men have caught the imagination of the peoples of the world as Franklin Roosevelt did. His death on April 12, 1945, a few weeks before victory in Europe was achieved, came as a shock to the free peoples of the world, many of whom felt in his death a personal loss.

President Truman carries on. The Vice-President, Harry S. Truman, succeeded to the Presidency on Roosevelt's death. He continued



Official U.S. Army Photo From Ewing Galloway

A GREAT PRESIDENT

Taking office in a time of economic depression, Franklin Delano Roosevelt piloted his country through World War II. He was the first President to have more than two terms in office.

the direction of the problems of war until victory was gained in 1945. Now the problems of peace overshadowed those of war. Industry geared to war needs had to be converted to the production of peace-time goods. Controls upon wages, production and distribution were gradually removed. Problems of inflation created labour unrest, and numerous strikes slowed up the nation's ability to produce goods.

The success of a world return to prosperity depends largely upon the policies pursued by the United States. Industrial peace will increase production of goods, and freer trade policies will do much to raise the living standard of a war-

stricken world.

Religion in the United States. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." (Bill of Rights, 1791.)

In the story of nations the United States is young, yet it has enjoyed religious freedom for a longer period of time than any other country. Nearly every religious faith in the world can be found there. Most of the faiths were transplanted from the Old World and prospered in the New. Roman Catholics have the largest following of any one Church, drawing their membership chiefly from people of Irish, central and southern European origin. Baptists and Methodists rank next. Theirs were the Churches which moved forward with the settlers into the frontiers and rural areas. Their efforts have met with much success among the Negro peoples. The Lutheran Church is strong wherever Scandinavians and Germans have settled. The Episcopalian Church, American heir of the Church of England, is made up largely of people of English descent, while the Presbyterian Church has people principally of Scottish origin among its adherents. Americans of Jewish extraction have firmly retained the Hebrew faith. The Unitarian Church, although small in numbers, has been very progressive. American religious freedom, however, has given rise to numerous native sects. Most important of these have been the Church of the Latter-Day Saints, or the Mormons, who, as we have seen, founded the state of Utah: and the Church of Christ Scientist, founded in 1876 by Mary Baker Eddy. The separation of Church and State provided for in the Constitution has resulted in little or no religion being taught in public schools and colleges.

United States restricts immigration. During most of the 19th century the United States admitted people in large numbers to aid in the development of the country. About one-quarter of the population is of foreign birth. Germans, Irish and Scandinavians were among the early arrivals, but at the turn of the century large numbers Polish, Russian, Italian, Jewish, and Balkan peoples settled in the growing industrial centres of the nation. Each of these national groups tended to form separate communities in the cities and rural areas to preserve their Old Country heritage. The problem of "Americanizing" the immigrant was not simple, but the public school has done a great deal of work to settle this problem.

The increasing wealth of the nation was soon reflected in a rising living standard. Fear of competition in industry from people with lower living standards made Congress decide to close the doors of the United States against certain nationalities. The first people of foreign origin discriminated against were the Chinese, many of whom had found homes in California. By an act of 1882 these were excluded. Later, practically all Japanese were barred from entry to the United States. In 1921 Congress passed a Quota Act limiting, by selection, the number of immigrants from

any country. Canadians, however, were an exception to this law until 1932 when, because of labour problems rising out of the depression, a quota was applied to Canada. In the 1920's when Canadians were freely admitted to the United States, for every five immigrants that came to Canada, four Canadians entered the United States.

Material progress mounts. The introduction of the factory system and unrestricted immigration brought other problems. The rise of the big city was one of these. Cities compete with each other in building structures, amusement parks, sports and cultural activities. Skyscrapers tower above earlier forms of architecture, and adjectives like "biggest," "fastest," "best," are used to describe the nation's progress. Families enjoy luxuries unknown a generation earlier. Motor cars, telephones, electric lights, radios, fancy heating systems, together with many other improvements are in evidence. These reflect a rising living standard. Clothing, drugs and foods are given fancy trade names.

Business men take pride in the nation's progress and increase their fellowship by forming clubs like Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions. These undertake to give their services to worthy community projects such as fresh air camps, playgrounds, and help for the blind. The international character of these organizations results in the formation of similar clubs in Canada, which form bridges of goodwill between our two countries.

Increasing social problems cre-

Many drew inspiration from the writings and work of Jane Addams who devoted her life to relieving distress among the poor. Miss Addams founded Hull House in a slum section of Chicago. Here undernourished people were fed and trained for jobs which enabled them to take their place in society. Her success was followed by similar plans in other cities. Mackenzie King, who afterwards became Prime Minister of Canada, once worked with Miss Addams at Hull House.

Many far-reaching reforms were achieved by amendments to the Constitution. The most important of these were the first ten adopted in 1791, commonly referred to as the American Bill of Rights, safeguarding the rights of the people and states. Three were adopted between 1865 and 1870 strengthening the rights of the Negro. Two important amendments were adopted in 1913 and 1920. The first gave the people of each state the right to elect senators to Congress instead of having them named by the state legislature. The second gave women the right to vote. The increased financial burden of the federal government which new conditions created resulted in the adoption of an amendment in 1913 giving Congress the power to levy income tax. An amendment now in process of ratification by the states will limit a President's tenure of office to two terms.

American literature became a part of the heritage of the English-speaking world. Literature in the colonial period reflected the hardships, homesickness, and religious feelings of a people in a distant land. In Virginia Captain John Smith wrote a history of the English colonies in the New World. In the northern colonies Puritan writers concerned themselves with religious tracts. During the Revolutionary period the discussion of politics loomed large, and great orators like Patrick Henry of Virginia could sway the minds of men by their speeches on liberty. Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison wrote splendid political treatises in defence of the new-born Constitution. These essays were widely read and discussed and much can still be learned from them. Up to 1800 most American authors copied the English and French style of writing. After the Revolutionary War, however, men took pride in describing the daily life and conditions of their own American people. The humorist, Washington Irving, portrayed life in New York state, with its famous Hudson River. In Canada, almost all of us are familiar with two of his most famous stories, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." James Fenimore Cooper wrote exciting stories of the sea or frontier. In "The Last of the Mohicans" he showed his admiration for the native Indian. The American, Ralph Waldo Emerson, ranks with the world's great philosophers. James Russell Lowell and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Walt Whitman and John Greenleaf Whittier were all poets who expressed in their works different phases of the ideals of American democracy. Longfeliow's sympathy for humanity is shown in his poem "Evangeline" in which he relates the exile of the French Canadians from Acadia in 1755. In the 1850's Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was one of the most popular books in the northern states because of its attacks on the evils of slavery. Samuel Clemens wrote under the pen name of Mark Twain. He loved the Mississippi Valley and wrote of it extensively. "Huckleberry Finn" and "Tom Sawyer" are books that every boy reads. In the 20th century modern writers of importance are Carl Sandburg, Ernest Hemingway, Upton Sinclair, H. L. Mencken, John Steinbeck, and Sinclair Lewis.

Americans develop and appreciate the finer arts. For many years the Americans were so busily engaged pioneering new land that little opportunity was found for the cultivation of the finer arts. In time surplus wealth was created, making it possible for people to study abroad at the older cultural centres of Europe. Two world wars, however, robbed Europe of its leadership in the arts, when composers, orchestra leaders, and artists flocked to the United States. Here they were welcomed, appreciated, and given a larger measure of security than the political upheavals of Europe permitted. New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago profited by this and became important musical centres. Canadians have enjoyed, by means of radio or personal appearances, American artists. The New York Philharmonic Orchestra founded in 1845 has always presented music of a high standard and set the pattern for orchestras in many other cities. The Metropolitan Opera House founded in 1883 presents Old and New World operas of such excellent quality that practically all artists aspire to an engagement there as a means of establishing their reputation. For several years the Metropolitan was managed by a Canadian, Edward Johnson. Before this appointment he sang with the Opera Company as leading tenor.

One of the first famous composers of what has come to be considered as American national music was Stephen Foster, who lived unknown and unappreciated for many years. Songs like "Swanee River," "Old Black Joe," and "Oh! Susannah," were first sung by travelling minstrel shows. Now they rank among the nation's classics. Edward McDowell selected American settings for his music. Two of his most popular compositions are the "Indian Love Lyrics," and the "Woodland Sketches." George Gershwin's music reflected a classical approach to the American jazz age. "Rhapsody in Blue" and his operetta "Porgy and Bess" are typical of his style.

In the fields of painting, sculpture and architecture the Americans have demonstrated further forms of expression. Among the artists Winslow Homer and John S. Sargent are outstanding. The former was engaged by "Harper's Weekly" during the Civil War to draw battle scenes. He also produced many paintings of Negro and rustic life, and his pictures of the sea and fisherfolk are unsurpassed. John S. Sargent was a portrait artist and mural painter. In the Boston Public Library can be seen one of his most famous mural series the "History of Religion."

Two widely recognized sculptors are Irish-born Augustus St. Gaudens, and Danish-born Gutzon Borglum. Both selected famous historical characters for their subjects.

The skyscraper is most representative of American architectural achievement. The 102 story Empire State Building in New York City is the architect's version of modern "big business."

The Story of the United States Offers a Pattern for the Union of Nations

Most of the early Americans came from the British Isles in search of freedom of religion or opportunities for trade. Other Continental countries, notably France and Spain, were in the race for the unclaimed land and trade of the Americas. Clashes for imperial power in the Old World were accompanied by clashes in the New. By 1763 the English colonies, numbering 1,500,000 people, were spread along the Atlantic seaboard from Massachusetts to Georgia. These planted firmly the freedom, language, and culture

of the British Isles in the New World. The Thirteen Colonies which came to form the United States, all different in origin, developed local loyalties, but unity of purpose grew.

After the Seven Years' War Britain tried to impose new taxes on the colonies. They refused to pay the demands, on the principle that a tax levied without the consent of the governed was illegal. Negotiations to settle this difference of view failed and the states created a Congress. War began at Lexington. The second Continental Congress declared the colonies free and independent states, absolved of all allegiance to the Crown. The war was ended by the second Treaty of Paris 1783. The winning of independence was followed by the need of a workable system of government to strengthen the nation. In 1879 a new Constitution, largely the work of George Washington and Alexander Hamilton, came into effect. This established the principle of Federation as an effective form of government for a "more perfect union" of states.

The nation was no sooner born than it began to expand across a continent. New territories were acquired so that by 1853 the American homeland had reached its present limits. Settlers flocked into the new areas. Pioneers again grappled with problems of the New West.

The Civil War nearly destroyed the unity of the nation. Deeply rooted differences between the north and south were repeatedly compromised for seventy years. An industrial north desired protective tariffs, while an agricultural south wanted free trade. Foreign immigrants brought a zest for freedom to the north where population increased more rapidly than in the south. The North championed nationalism and the sovereignty of the federal government; the South defended sectionalism and the rights of states. Henry Clay submitted several plans of compromise, each of which only postponed the day of reckoning. After Lincoln's election eleven southern states seceded and formed a Confederate Union with Jefferson Davis its President. War started by a southern army bombarding Fort Sumter, a national post. The South was defeated by the power of the North. Lincoln freed the slaves and saved the Union. He had planned to reconstruct the South, but his assassination caused delays in that reconstruction.

Demands for economic reform arose among western farmers. In 1887 Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act, giving itself power to regulate railway and inter-state trade. Under Theodore Roosevelt numerous reforms were achieved in keeping with a "square deal" slogan. Positive reforms can be credited to President Wilson, supported by a Democratic Congress. A "New Deal" was advanced by Franklin Delano Roosevelt's election as President in 1932.

SELF-TEST

| (/ | Ansv | vei | r these | questions | in your | note book. | Do not | mark | your | text.) |
|----|------|-----|---------|-----------|----------|------------|--------|------|------|--------|
| ī. | In | a | single | sentence | identify | • | | | - | |

William Lloyd Garrison James Oglethorpe John Smith Paul Revere Thomas Paine Thomas Jefferson Alexander Hamilton James Monroe

Daniel Boone Andrew Jackson Jefferson Davis Henry Clay John Brown Henry Wadsworth Longfellow William Jennings Bryan

- 2. Choose the item in the second column related to the item in the first column. Put the correct letter in the blank.
 - I. Theodore Roosevelt

 - 2. Woodrow Wilson
 3. Dr. Marcus Whitman
 4. Zebulon Pike

 - 5. F. D. Roosevelt (d) Square Deal
- (a) Explorer
- (b) Self determination of nations
- (c) Four Freedoms

 - (e) Oregon Trail
 - (f) Declaration of Independence
- 4. Terms to understand:
 - (a) Missouri Compromise
- (d) Abolitionists
- (b) Declaration of Independence (e) New Deal
- (c) Confederate Union
- 5. Fill in blanks with appropriate answers.
 - (a) In Canada the head of government is called the -In the United States he is called the —
 - (b) In Canada laws are made by ——— consisting of In the United States laws are made by ———— consisting

of — and — —

(c) In Canada the head of a government is responsible to In the United States the head of government is checked

6. Are the following statements true or false?

by — and —

- (a) The most important issue of the Civil War was the preservation of the Union.
- (b) The Industrial Revolution started in the United States.
- (c) Third political parties have often controlled Congress.

THE STORY OF THE UNITED STATES

- (d) F. D. Roosevelt was the only president ever elected four times.
- (e) More immigrants settled in the southern states than in the northern.
- 7. Match the events listed in the first column with the correct dates in the second column.

| Philadelphia Convention | 1607 |
|---|------|
| Louisiana Purchase | 1776 |
| Kansas-Nebraska Act | 1860 |
| First permanent English settlement in America | 1929 |
| Declaration of Independence | 1863 |
| Election of Abraham Lincoln | 1854 |
| Emancipation Proclamation | 1787 |
| Missouri Compromise | 1803 |
| Economic depression begins | 1783 |
| Britain recognizes the independence of the U.S. | 1820 |

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

Topics for Group Discussion

- I. Canadians and Americans have much in common, yet they are different.
- 2. Democracy became more meaningful as the United States expanded west.
- 3. The high standard of American living depended upon its system of free enterprise.
- 4. "All men are created equal."
- 5. Much can be learned from the history of the United States that would strengthen the United Nations.

Topics for Listening Pleasure

- 1. Plan a programme of recordings of Negro Spirituals or the music of Stephen Foster.
- 2. Make use of your radio and enjoy the broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera Company, and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra.

For the Chart Maker

I. Make a time chart selecting five events which you consider most important. Use three columns; in the first write the date; in the second the fact associated with the date; and in the third your reason for considering the fact important.

2. Make a chart using three columns in which Canada and the United States can be compared. Head the first column "Item"; the second "Canada" and the third "United States." Under "Item" write: 1. Population; 2. Area; 3. Climate; 4. The most important river; 5. The largest city; 6. Capital; 7. Number of provinces—number of states. Complete the second and third columns with appropriate facts. Add to this suggested list.

Adventures in Writing

1. Pretend you are a pioneer "out west." Write a brief diary of your experiences in some particular region.

2. Prepare a magazine article on a topic of your own choosing from

this story of the United States.

INTERESTING READING ABOUT THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AUTHOR
Allen, Frederick L.
Barker Commager
& Webb
Beard, C. A. & Mary
Barnard H. Clive

Compton's

Dulles, F. R. Latané & Latané Lippmann, Walter

McGuire, Edna Nicolay, Helen

Parkman, Francis

Name of Book
Only Yesterday
The Building of Our
Nation
History of the U.S.
The Expansion of the
Anglo-Saxon Nations
Pictured Encyclopedia
Vol. T.U.V.
America in the Pacific
American History

A Full Grown Nation Andrew Jackson the Fighting President The Oregon Trail

U.S. Foreign Policy

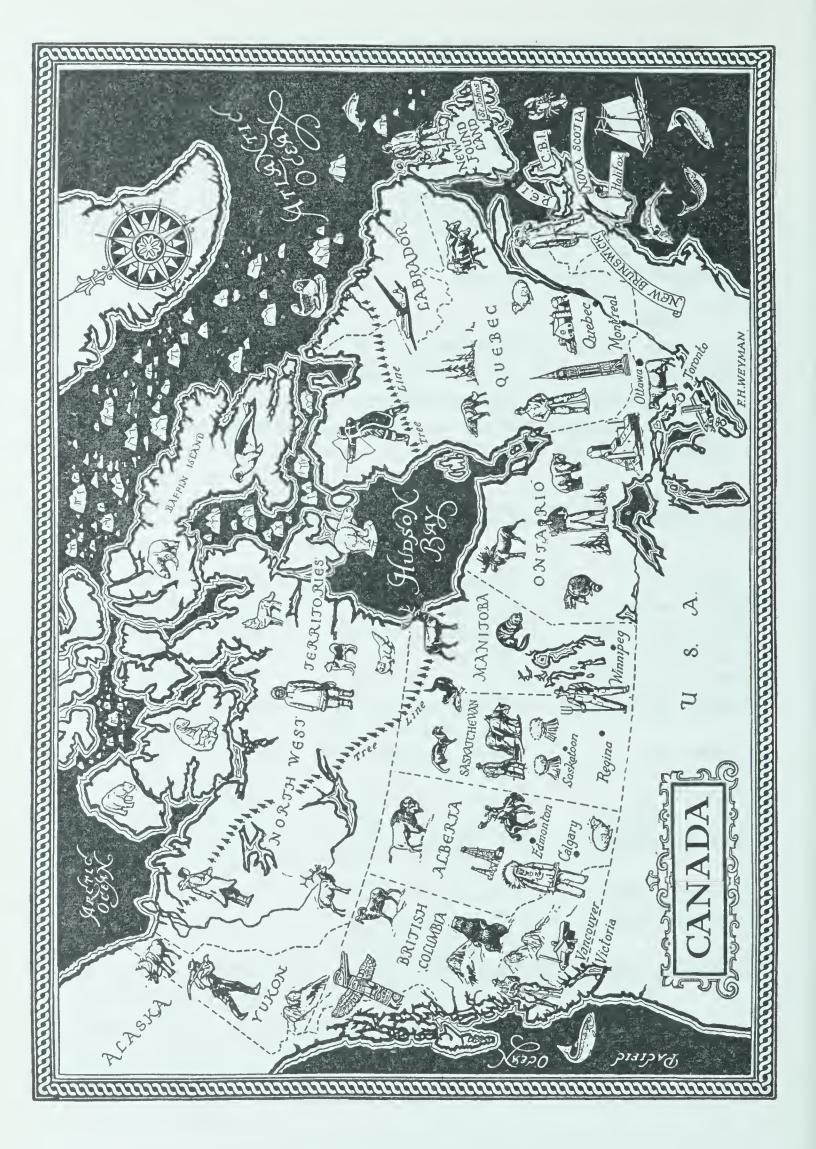
Publishers

Bantam Books, N.Y. Row Peterson & Co.

Macmillan
A & C Black Ltd.
London
Compton Co.

Houghton
Allyn & Bacon
Pocket Books Inc.
N.Y.
Macmillan
Appleton Century

Little

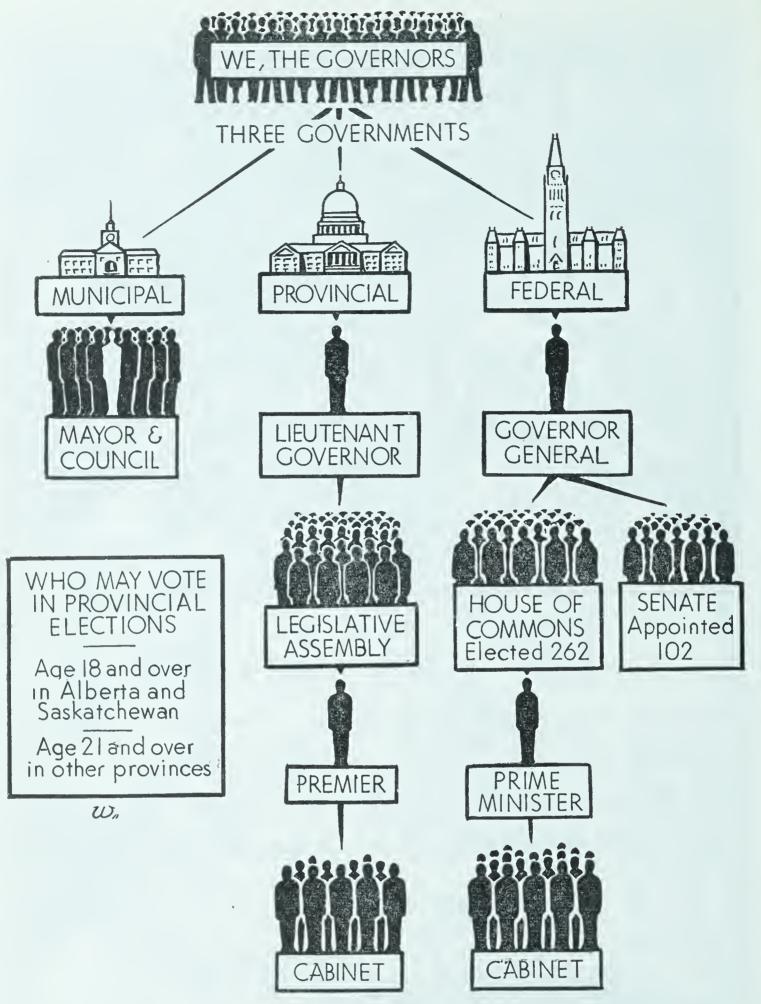


PART FIVE



CITIZENSHIP IN CANADA

| Ι. | Working with People We Know | 298 |
|----|---|-----|
| 2. | How We Work with Neighbours in Our Province | 322 |
| 3. | Do We Work Well with Neighbours in Other Provinces? | 338 |
| 4. | Can We Work with Neighbours All Over the World? | 357 |



THE GOVERNMENT Is You

Each boy and girl who reads this book will have to help govern Canada within ten years' time. It is not too early now to start learning our jobs as the future governors of Canada.

We, the Governors

Claudius, have decided to declare war . . . " or "I, Augustus, sentence the traitors to death" That is how the all-powerful emperors of Rome in olden days told the citizens what the government was going to do.

"Govern" comes from a Latin word meaning "to steer." The emperor used to steer the Roman Empire. He decided what was to be done.

The Romans were often at the mercy of a cruel tyrant; but at least,

if things went wrong, they could blame the emperor.

"We, the governors, have decided to" That is how the people of Canada could speak nowadays, because they themselves steer or govern the country. The men at Ottawa, in our provincial Assemblies, or on town councils may actually pass the laws, but all the people have the final say, because they choose the men who will go to Ottawa and to the councils.

In this section of Canada in the World Today we are going to see how the people of Canada actually do govern their country. At first, the picture of Canada's governments will look badly mixed up. To run our country we have about four thousand councils and assemblies, some large, most of them small. These various groups do things in different

ways in different parts of our nation.

However, it will not be difficult to sort out these various ways of governing ourselves if we remember just one fact: every government is simply a way of getting something done that we all want, but which we couldn't do if everyone worked on his own. Three boys can climb over a fence that is too high for one boy to get over by himself. Fourteen million Canadians, working together by means of governments, can build railways, hospitals, rinks, parks, armies, and many other things that we need. If each citizen refused to help his neighbours, we should have none of these things.

Without governments, our country might be poor and backward, our

lives hard, dull and dangerous.

Some people, who do not think very carefully, talk about "the government" as if it were a terrible, far-off enemy which gobbles up our money and makes our lives miserable. In reality, governments are our friends and servants. If we choose them wisely, as friends and servants should

always be chosen, they will help us every day of our lives.

You may wonder why you study about governments in school. It is because each student who reads this will have to help in "steering" Canada within ten years' time. Our way of governing, most Canadians think, is good. To keep it like that, group after group of boys and girls, as they grow up and reach voting age, must work hard to keep the good old ideas of government and develop better new ones. A car will not run today on the gasoline that it burned up yesterday; nor will a government continue to run on the energy and ideas supplied by your fathers and grandfathers.

It is not too early now to start learning your future jobs as, "We, the

governors of Canada."

Chapter 1 — Working With People We Know

Teamwork in Cedarville. If you wish to enter a baseball league, you have to get at least eight other boys or girls to join your team. If you are planning to stage a play, you must get actors and actresses to take the parts of all the characters.

Without help from other people, we could not do many things which we like to do. Our lives would not be as interesting as they might be. Nor would we be as healthy, because activities of all kinds keep our bodies and minds in good condition.

Exactly the same thing applies to our life among the people of our municipality, town or city. If we want roads, we must help each other to build them by each paying his share of the cost. Suppose each person were free to build a road or not build a road in front of his home, just as he chose. Some would do it, others wouldn't. A

dozen bits of road not connected together would be of little use to anyone in the town. If we need a road at all, we need a complete road.

In Cedarville, the people do work together. Cedarville is not a real town, but as you read this story about its imaginary citizens, you will probably think to yourself at times, "Why, that's like our town," or "Say, that's just what our Mr. Jones would do!"

Though no two Canadian towns are exactly alike, all of them are the same in some ways. Cedarville is an example of those dots all over the map of Canada, each of which is "our town" to a group of lively, energetic, enthusiastic people who call themselves Canadians.

In this first chapter, we shall watch the people of Cedarville working together. It will be like looking in a mirror, for we shall see



British Columbia Government Travel Bureau

MAIN STREET, CANADA

The government of towns like this, which might be any one of the thousands of small towns in Canada, is the one closest to all of us. How many of the objects in the picture are affected by either municipal or provincial governments?

the kind of work that we do with our close neighbours, the people whom we see from day to day as we go around our city, town or village.

Cedarville students. "Cancelling the school party! What's the idea, Johnny?"

"Dad says they're sorry, but they have to take the school gym for a special meeting next Friday."

Uno [oo-no] Kask wasn't going to be easily satisfied. He had been looking forward to that party. As the boys went out of Johnny's yard, Uno spoke impatiently, "But why hold the meeting just on that night? We've made all our plans, and it's the first party of the year, too."

"You're dying to see what a Canadian party's like!" laughed Johnny.

Uno was the son of an Estonian family. They had been taken from their homeland on the east shore of the Baltic Sea when the Nazi armies marched in during World War II. Until the end of the war, they had been forced to work in a German factory. Then, as they did not wish to return to their former home, now part of Russia, they went to England as "D.P's", Displaced Persons, and finally to Canada. Uno's parents worked on a farm just outside the town.

At first the boys had joked with Uno about his "English accent," for he and his family had learned the language in Lancashire, England. Uno was puzzled and then amused. To speak English with an English accent, that was a real compliment! But his speech was rapidly becoming "Canadian English," with only a slight trace of the Estonian he had used for the first ten years of his life.

Every morning in his fortyminute walk to school, Uno called for Johnny Danski. In the two months since school had opened in September, the two boys had be-

come firm friends.

Johnny's father, owner of one of the butcher shops in Cedarville, was a member of the town council. The other students always turned to Johnny for any official information, such as the date on which election day fell (a holiday for the pupils). Johnny rather liked being an authority and kept his ears open around home for any tid-bits of information.

Now Johnny set out to explain the present situation to Uno.

The mysterious mill. "It's all because the theatre burned down last week. The plan was to hold a big meeting there . . ."

"What about?" asked Uno eag-

erly.

Johnny grinned. Uno was already noted for the number of questions he asked, in class and out. "The walking Question Mark again! Hold your horses, Uno. All the people running in the election next week are supposed to give talks at the meeting. There's some big hullabaloo about putting up a mill. I didn't hear the details. My dad's all for it, though. He's going

to make a speech."

"But why do they have to take the school gym just when we need

it for the party?"

"Oh, they hate to do it, Dad says. But the notices for the meeting are out and, besides, they want to hold it a week before election day so that people can think about this mill. Now the theatre's gone, there's no other place but the school to hold the crowd."

"Well, I'm going to ask Miss Rogers about it this morning," declared Uno firmly as they entered the school.

"O.K., Uno," laughed Johnny; "curiosity killed the cat, but you

still look pretty healthy."

The mill, one in a thousand. Uno's flow of questions in class had given Miss Rogers, their teacher, a good idea. Every morning, after recess, she had a Question Period. Uno seemed to be a bottomless well of questions. The other students soon caught some of his enthusiasm and joined in with their own queries.

After recess on this particular morning, Uno had his hand up before all the students were in their

seats.

"Miss Rogers, Johnny says our school party's been postponed because the town council is holding a meeting about building a mill. What kind of mill is it going to be, and why do they need to have a meeting about it?"

"I think Johnny must have mixed up his words a little," replied Miss Rogers with a smile. "The council is planning to put up the mill rate, which isn't connected at all with flour mills or paper mills. The mill rate is just an easy way of telling each person how much he has to pay for all the things the town needs—roads, schools, fire trucks, and so on. That money is called taxes.

"Here's the way it works: a mill means the one-thousandth part. If you had a farm worth a thousand dollars and the tax rate is one mill, you would pay one dollar each year. Today the tax rate is usually around forty mills, so you would pay forty dollars. Of course, most farms are worth more than a thousand dollars; but if you know the mill rate and the value of your farm, it's easy arithmetic to figure out how much tax you have to pay. For example: Farm worth \$5,000.; mill rate is 30. What are the taxes? Right, \$150.; \$30. for one thousand, \$150. for five thousand."

Meeting about money. "Thank you, Miss Rogers," said Uno. "I've got the mill straightened out now. But

what about this meeting?"

"The mayor wrote to our principal, Mr. Johnson," explained Miss Rogers, "to ask if we could possibly postpone the party. It's really quite an important meeting and the election is next week. So Mr. Johnson and the teachers thought we should let the town council have the school gym for that night."

"What are they having the meeting for?" asked Joan McTavish, the daughter of the railway station

agent.

"I don't know all the details myself," answered Miss Rogers. "I do know that some people don't like the higher mill rate, and I suppose the meeting will talk about the reasons for raising it. There's also a possible argument about the community hall that the council is recommending."

"Isn't that the plan for a big gym to be built onto the school?" asked Marie Tournell, whose father was one of the town's dairymen.

"Yes, that's it. But of course, it would be more than a gym. There would be a theatre, library, workshops and offices as well. All of you will be interested in that plan. If the community centre is built, you'll have a much better high school course."

Questions for the mayor. "Couldn't we find out more about all this?" suggested Johnny.

"Yes, we could elect a committee to attend the meeting and tell the rest of us what happens," said Uno.

"Would we be able to understand the speeches? The Mayor uses some pretty big words!" Joan's question was greeted with laughter. Joan herself often used words that puzzled the other students.

"Perhaps a few of us could talk to the Mayor and some of the councillors before the meeting."

Marie's suggestion was readily adopted. The class elected four committees to interview the Mayor and three of the council members. The students decided to ask them these questions:

- (1) Why is a public meeting being held on Friday?
- (2) Why do people have to pay taxes?
- (3) Should the mill rate be raised?
- (4) How would the council find out if the people wanted the mill rate changed or the community centre built?

Cedarville's problems come to class. Marie and Joan were first in their seats after recess on Friday morning. "Which councillor did your committee see, Joan?" asked Marie.

"We interviewed Mr. Van Engel yesterday after four. It was a good idea to make the appointment ahead of time; he had cookies and soft drinks for us!"

"The Mayor didn't give us refreshments, but he was very kind to us," said Marie enthusiastically. "Weren't you nervous before you went in to see Mr. Van Engel?"

"Yes, a little, but—." Miss Rogers entered at that moment and the class came to order.

The usual Question Period, Miss Rogers told them, would not be held. Instead the chairmen of the four committees would make their reports. They would try to answer any questions raised by the other students.

"We shall run our meeting this morning in the same way that your parents will run theirs tonight," announced Miss Rogers. "I shall act as chairman, and if I do anything which you don't understand please ask about it. The chairmen of our four committees, Joan, Marie, Johnny and Uno, will each report on one of the questions that they asked the members of the town council. Our first question was: Why is a public meeting being held tonight? Uno Kask and his committee interviewed Councillor Danski, and Uno will make a report on this first question."

"Madam Chairman, fellow students
..." Uno came to the front of the

class. "Madam Chairman, fellow students. Our parents seem to be having several big arguments, or perhaps I should say discussions. They all want the same things but they can't agree on how or when

they should get them.

"For example, Councillor Danski thinks that the taxes should be raised. He wants to improve a lot of things around town such as the fire brigade and the street lighting. Other council members also want to have things improved in the town but they think that the taxes are high enough now. They believe that higher taxes would scare away people who might open new businesses in our town. Also Councillor Danski thinks we ought to have a community hall but some others say we can't afford it just yet.

"At the meeting tonight each of the people running for office next Friday—they're called candidates—is going to tell all the people what he thinks should be done. So the meeting will help the citizens of Cedarville to decide about taxes and the community centre. Councillor Danski said to tell you all to remind your parents about the

meeting."

"Thank you, Uno, for your report," said Miss Rogers. "Have any of you a question to ask?"

One of the girls asked, "Aren't there going to be any lady speakers

tonight?"

Miss Rogers looked at Uno. "Yes," he replied. "Mrs. Foster is one of the candidates. She'll be speaking."

Miss Rogers called on Marie Tournelle to report on the second question which was: Why do people have to pay taxes?

Taxes—a need or a nuisance? "Madam Chairman, fellow students. My committee interviewed the Mayor," began Marie. "When we asked him this question about taxes, he asked us if we objected to paying money to go to the theatre. When we all said, 'No,' he replied, 'Why not?' I told him that we didn't mind paying because we liked the pictures. He said that most people feel the same way about taxes. They don't mind paying for sidewalks, street lights and such things if they feel they're getting good value for their money. Taxes are just a special way of buying things. The people of Cedarville put their money together by paying taxes and then buy what the town needs. It would be very awkward for each of us to try to buy his own fire engine and street light!

"But he told us to note two particular points about taxes," continued Marie, referring to her notes. "First, when a majority in the town decides to use tax money to buy something then all the townspeople have to help pay for it. Everyone must pay taxes.

"Second, all people do not pay the same amount. Those who have big houses and gardens have high taxes and those who have small houses and gardens have low taxes.

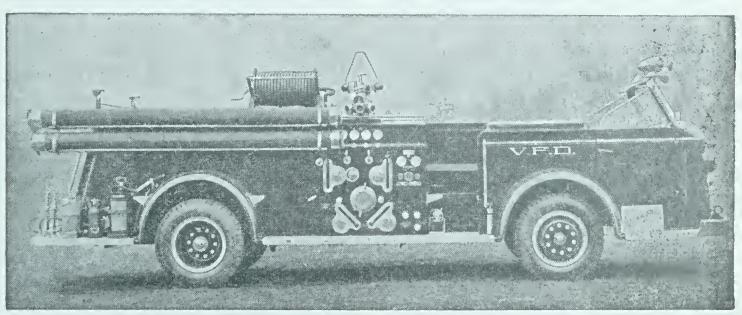
"The Mayor said to tell you that taxes are actually good although some people complain about them. Taxes are only bad when the money is wasted on unnecessary things."

When Marie had finished, one of the boys said, "Madam Chairman, may I ask Marie a question? Suppose the council decided to buy a new fire engine. If my father thought the old one was good enough, do you mean to say that he would have to pay the tax anyway?"

"Can you answer that Marie?"

said Miss Rogers.

"Yes," nodded Marie. "I think I



Courtesy Vancouver City Council

WHAT THE TAX MONEY BUYS

An important function of municipal government is to provide protection from fire. Though a fire might never occur in your home, your parents are taxed to provide modern fire-fighting equipment like this engine. Is this fair?

can. Your father would have to pay even if he didn't like the way the council was spending the tax money. Every citizen has to pay his share."

"Thank you Marie," said Miss Rogers. "Making everyone pay may not seem quite fair when you first think of it, but we'll discuss that further when we come to our fourth main question. Now, Joan, will you answer the third question for us? Should the mill rate be raised?"

How high should the mill rate be? "Madam Chairman, fellow students," said Joan. "My committee interviewed Councillor Van Engel, the editor of The Cedarville Courier. We asked him if he thought the mill rate should be raised and if so why. He said that he thought it should be raised. Most of the people in town want the council to improve the fire brigade, have better street lights and other things that cost money. Up to now, our taxes have always been lower than in most of the towns around us. The people of Cedarville are not poor these days and the total assessment has been rising steadily. Mr. Van Engel believes that now is the time to improve our town."

"Sam, you're looking puzzled. Have you a question?" said Miss Rogers to a sturdy boy in the front seat.

Sam Donaldson was the fastest player on the hockey team but he often tripped in class over the big words Joan McTavish used.

"Yes, Madam Chairman," replied Sam with a grin. "Joan said the total 'something' has been rising. What was that all about?"

"You mean the assessment," replied Joan. "That's just the value of each house and piece of land. A man called the assessor decides what the land and houses are worth. So the value of all the land and all the houses is the total assessment."

How Cedarville makes up its mind. "Now we'll have the last report," said Miss Rogers. "Johnny Danski will tell us the answer to: How can the council find out if the people want the mill rate changed or the community centre built?"

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. Uno has already told us about the public meeting tonight. My committee asked Councillor Riley how this meeting will help the council to decide about taxes and the community centre. The people do not decide these things right at the meeting. There they hear what all the candidates have to say. Next week *The Cedarville Courier* will print a report about the speeches so everyone has a chance to know what the candidates have said.

"Then our parents make up their minds and cast their votes next Friday. If most of them vote for the candidates who want the improvements right away, then those candidates will be the councillors. After the election, the new councillors will raise the mill rate to get more money for the fire brigade, street lighting and so on.

"Sam Donaldson wondered if it's fair to make everybody pay taxes. Well, even if Mr. Donaldson doesn't think we should buy a new fire-truck, he would still get the use of it if his house caught fire. Everyone has a vote, everyone benefits when the tax money is spent, and the majority decides how it's spent. Nothing could be fairer than that.

"Most of the voters might choose the other candidates who don't want to raise the mill rate. Then those men will be on the council. They will not make the expenditures necessary for a fire engine or the street lighting and will try to keep the mill rate down.

"Councillor Riley told us that people don't always decide their votes that way. Sometimes they vote for the men they think will be the best councillors and then let those men decide what the council

should do."

By law, we need a "by-law." "The community centre is a horse of a different colour," continued Johnny. "The people don't leave this up to the council. Any time the councillors want to spend a lot of money on one thing, like the community centre, they have to get the people who pay taxes to give their O.K. The council passes what is called a 'money by-law.' Then at the election only those people who pay taxes have votes 'Yes' or 'No' for or against the by-law. If 60% or more of these voters mark their ballots with an X opposite the word Yes, the council can borrow the money and go ahead with the community centre. But if less than 60% of the taxpayers vote 'Yes,' then the whole plan is cancelled."

"Thank you, Johnny," said Miss Rogers. "Are there any questions?"

"If Mr. Danski disagrees with Councillor Riley, wasn't it pretty daring for Johnny's committee to interview Mr. Riley?" asked one of the boys, curiously.

"I wondered about that," answered Johnny, "but Mr. Riley just joked about it. Dad and Mr. Riley disagree at council meetings but they're still friends. They're on the same rink at the curling club."

Can a councillor change his mind? "Madam Chairman," said Sam, "could Johnny tell us what happens if a candidate says he'll do something and then doesn't do it after he's elected. Is he put off the council?"

"I don't think so, but I'm not sure," replied Johnny. "I guess Madam Chairman will have to answer that one."

"No, a person can't be put off the council after he's elected," explained Miss Rogers, "unless he does something very bad, such as stealing. A councillor is free to change his mind. But the people have the final say. They can vote against him in the next election if they think he shouldn't have changed his mind."

"Miss Rogers," said Marie, "I'd like to know why everyone speaking is supposed to say 'Madam Chairman' before starting. Wouldn't it save time if we just began by giving our report right away?"

"Well, there are two ways of looking at that," said Miss Rogers, smiling. "Some people do waste time by saying 'Madam Chairman' too often, not only at the beginning but all through their speeches. However, the idea of making each

speaker address the chairman is to remind everybody that the chairman is in charge. Every meeting needs a boss! If several people want to talk at once, the chairman must decide who speaks first. Otherwise, the meeting would become a mob and nothing would be accomplished.

"If you have any more questions, we'll discuss them next week. As chairman of the meeting, I wish to thank our four committees for the fine work they have done in preparing and giving these reports.

"Perhaps I'll see some of you at the election meeting tonight, as I know some of the boys will be checking coats and the girls will be helping with the refreshments.

"Now, will someone please make a motion that our meeting ad-

journ?"

To the hustings. When a Canadian wishes to be elected to public office, he must get support from his fellow-citizens for his ideas about government. He has complete freedom to explain his policies, except that he can't tell the members of his audience to use guns or other weapons to get their way.

A candidate communicates his ideas to the public by radio talks, posters, and newspaper advertisements. But the best way is to hold meetings of voters where the candidates can give speeches and answer questions. This is sometimes called "taking to the hustings." "Hustings" means the platform from which election speeches are given.

The Cedarville Courier appeared the Wednesday before the election

with the following story featured on the front page:

ALL CANDIDATES ON HUSTINGS IN LIVELY ELECTION MEETING

Mill Rate and Community Centre Stir Up Debate In Exciting Election Fight

"No mayor of Cedarville could sleep well at nights knowing that our protection against fire is so poor," stated Mayor Carmichael. "We can have good fire protection if we are willing to pay for it. Why wait till lives are lost?"

Mr. William Schultz, who is running against Mr. Carmichael in the election on Friday, declared, "We would be foolish to raise our taxes now, just when we are trying to attract new businesses to our town."

Keynote speeches by the two candidates for the mayor's chair were the highlights of a lively election meeting held last Friday evening in the school. Jointly sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, the Women's Institute, and the council, the election rally was attended by a capacity audience. Enthusiastic questioners from the floor kept the speakers on their mettle.

In addition to the addresses from the two candidates for mayor, the meeting heard short speeches from all those running for the four council seats, Mrs. Margaret Foster and Messrs. Carl Danski, Thomas McDonald, John Riley, Sam Steinberg, and Walter Van Engel.

The president of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Franklin Smith, was in the chair. On behalf of the sponsoring organizations, he welcomed the citizens present, stating that "this is the largest election meeting held in Cedarville for many years."

Mayor Carmichael, in the opening speech, urged that the citizens vote for the candidates who supported an increase in the mill rate. After outlining briefly the town's financial position, he declared that improvements in services such as fire protection and street lighting could be made only by raising taxes.

"It is not usual," he stated, "for candidates to advocate frankly an increase in the mill rate. However, in this case I fee!

that I shall receive the support of the public. Cedarville has always prided itself on having a tax rate below the average. But if low taxes mean only that the citizens refuse to keep their town in good condition, then the taxpayers should be ashamed, not proud.

"Our theatre was burned last week. Fortunately no one was injured. It could easily have been a disaster had it happened when the building was full of people. Our volunteer brigade did fine work, but at the most important moment our out-of-date fire engine broke down.

"We must not take chances with the lives of our citizens. An efficient fire engine must be provided. If taxes must be raised in order to obtain better fire protection and other improvements, then I shall not hesitate to raise them."

Mr. Schultz took issue with the Mayor on the question of raising the mill rate. In his opinion, taxes on houses and land were too high already. "I agree with Mr. Carmichael that town services in Cedarville must be improved," he said. "However, raising the mill rate is certainly not the way to better our town.

"We must encourage business to come to Cedarville. We want to see new kinds of businesses developed here, such as canning factories and tourist camps. Every person who is making, selling, or repairing something in our town is a taxpayer. More taxpayers mean more tax-money without raising the mill rate.

"High taxes drive people away; low taxes keep them here and attract new citizens. I believe we can keep taxes down by avoiding extravagant buying, and by looking for new sources of money, such as higher grants from the government of the province.

"If elected, I will do all in my power to give Cedarville the fire protection and other vital services it needs without raising our tax rate."

Supporting the Mayor in his stand for higher taxes were Mrs. Foster and Councillors Danski and Van Engel. Councillors Steinberg and Riley and Mr. Pritchard joined Mr. Schultz in opposing any tax increase.

The lady candidate, in a vigorous speech, . . ."



Courtesy Regina City Council

CITY GOVERNMENT IS BIG BUSINESS
The city hall in Regina, Saskatchewan is typical of all the buildings in towns across Canada in which the important work of community government goes on in much the same way.

The editorial "we." Cedarville's citizens could read about the elections not only on the front page of the *Courier* but on the editorial page as well. Here they could read the editor's opinions on the election. On this page also they could learn what some of their fellow citizens were saying in the "Letters to the Editor" column.

In this edition of his paper, Editor Van Engel had inserted a small note above his editorial: "The differences of opinion among the candidates are unusually sharp at this election. As Cedarville has only one newspaper, the editor, himself a candidate, has considered it only fair to open his columns to a representative of the opposing viewpoint. An article written by Mr. William Schultz appears elsewhere on this page."

The main editorial at the left top corner of the page began:

SOMETHING FOR SOMETHING

Every human being is tempted to try to get something for nothing. Some misleading advertising plays upon this common failing by offering things FREE. However, on closer inspection, the buyer nearly always finds that he has paid fully for anything he receives.

Getting something for nothing is one of those will-o'-the-wisps people always chase but never quite catch. In human nature, as in the world of physical nature around us, the rule is something for something.

Applied to Cedarville's current election, this rule teaches us the same thing that common sense tells us: if the citizens of Cedarville want to *spend* more to improve their town, then they'll have to *pay* more in taxes. Other ways of filling Cedarville's public purse should certainly be investigated. But it is wishful thinking to expect money immediately from new sources.

For our part, we¹ agree whole-heartedly with the idea of attracting new businesses to our town. But business men with money to invest will look for a town that is well run, not run down.

To the Editor, Dear Sir. In the pre-election edition of the Courier, six private citizens had their say on election topics in the "Letters to the Editor" column. For instance, one angry citizen expressed himself strongly:

The Editor, Cedarville Courier.

Dear Sir:

What does the council think we taxpayers are—golden geese that can keep on laying eggs? The mill rate has been raised eight times in the last twenty years, and lowered only once. If taxes are increased again, I, for one, won't stand for it. I will sell my house and property and move to a town where the taxpayer is treated with some respect!

Yours truly,
DISGUSTED TAXPAYER²

Another correspondent wrote:

The Editor, Cedarville Courier.

Dear Sir:

Before deciding how to vote in Friday's elections, citizens should remember that Cedarville's taxes have been below the average of the towns of this size in the province for many years.

Even with the proposed increase in the mill rate, Cedarville's taxes will still be below those of some towns, though slightly above the average for the province.

Yours truly,

W. J. Brown

Mock election. "How would you like to have a mock election?" Miss Rogers asked her class after recess, two days before the town's voting day. "All those in favour say 'Aye.'" A chorus of "Ayes" answered. "Those opposed say 'Nay.'" Silence. "Carried unanimously," declared the teacher.

"First, then, we must have the nomination of the candidates for mayor. Each nomination must be in writing and signed by two voters, called the proposer and the seconder. The person nominated must state in writing that he or she accepts."

Three nominations were submitted. Miss Rogers wrote a sample ballot on the blackboard, like this:

¹ By long-established custom, the editor of a paper almost never says "I" in an editorial. Instead, he uses "we," but the meaning is just about the same.

² Newspapers will print letters without giving the writer's name. However, the writer must always tell his name to the editor and request that it should not be printed.

| he Membe | 1 C | Town of Cedarville, | Polling Subdivision No | 19 | FOR MAYOR | DANSKI Johnny Danski, 42 Laurier St., Cedarville, Student. |
|----------|-----|---------------------|------------------------|-----|-----------|--|
| | | | | jo | | DONALDSON Sam Donaldson, 15 Champlain St., Cedarville, Student. |
| | | | | day | Ī | McTAVISH Joan McTavish, 9 Banting St., Cedarville, Student. |

The pupils made copies of the ballot on pieces of red paper. Miss Rogers announced that the room would be divided into two polling subdivisions. The pupils on the north side of the room would cast their votes at No. 1 poll, and those on the south side at No. 2 poll.

Six nominations were made for the four places as aldermen and five nominations for the three positions as trustees on the school board. For these two elections also, the pupils made out ballots, one on blue paper and one on white.

"Tomorrow morning," Miss Rogers announced, as she collected all the ballots, "we shall have brief speeches from each of the candidates. Then the election will be held, following the same rules as your fathers and mothers will follow on Friday.

"I shall act as the town clerk who in elections takes the position called returning officer," continued the teacher. "My assistants, who will each be in charge of a voting place, called a poll, are known as deputy returning officers. The three of us will hand out the ballots, count the votes, and see that the election is

properly run. You must be careful to obey us, for on election day we have more power than a policeman and can put you in jail if you break the rules!"

What is a scrutineer? "Each candidate can appoint a friend to watch the counting and make sure we do everything in the right way," explained Miss Rogers. "This person is called a scrutineer because he or she scrutinizes or examines closely everything that the returning officers do. Every candidate can really have two scrutineers at each poll, but we haven't enough in the class for all the positions.

"When you go to the poll, the deputy returning officer checks your name on his list of voters, made up before the election. He puts his initials on the back of a ballot and gives it to you. Then you go into a booth so that you can mark your ballot secretly. You put an X to the right of the name of the person you wish to vote for—one X if only one candidate is to be elected. If there are five candidates but only three councillors to be elected, you will mark X's to the right of the names of the three

people for whom you wish to vote. There are always instructions in the voting booth telling you the proper way to mark your ballot.

"You then fold your ballot once and give it to the deputy returning officer. After checking to be sure his initials are on the ballot, he puts it into a locked box while you watch him. When the polls close after the election, he opens the box and counts the votes for the different candidates while the scrutineers look on. Finally, each deputy returning officer reports to me. I total up the votes and announce the names of winning candidates."

Truant voters. "As you can see," went on Miss Rogers, "a great deal of trouble is taken to be sure the election is run smoothly and honestly. But unfortunately some people don't use their ballots, although almost everyone over twenty-one years old can vote. We have thirty students in our class. If this were a real election in a Canadian town, not all of us would vote. Would anyone guess what percentage of voters do use their ballots?"

Marie raised her hand slowly. "Would it be about 95%? I imagine some people would be sick or away on business."

"That's true, a few people would not be able to vote, through no fault of their own. But when an election is held all across Canada, only about 75% of the voters use their ballots. In town and city elections, sometimes as few as 25% vote. In our class that would mean only 8 of you would use your ballots. Canada doesn't do as well as

some other countries when it comes to voting."

"Couldn't we do something to make sure all the people in Cedarville use their vote on Friday?" asked Uno Kask. "Perhaps we could put up signs. One of them might be 'Vote as you please, but vote' as the chairman said at the meeting last Friday."

"A very good idea, Uno," commented Miss Rogers. "What do the rest of you think about it?"

Suggestions came slowly at first, then thick and fast: a parade, with the school band and big placards; special cardboard hats with VOTE printed on them; a house-to-house canvass the day before election; signs on the school van.

"This afternoon," said Miss Rogers, "we'll elect a publicity committee. The committee can have a meeting while I'm helping the candidates and the deputy returning officers to prepare for our mock election campaign tomorrow."

The council is in session. Everyone in Cedarville knew the election results by Saturday morning. Mr. Carmichael was still the mayor; Mrs. Foster became the first lady councillor in ten years; Councillors Danski, Steinberg, and Van Engel were re-elected; and Mr. Schultz, Councillor McDonald, and Mr. Pritchard defeated. The money bylaw for the Community Club was favoured by 69% of the voters and thus it passed with more than the necessary three-fifths of the ballots.

With the excitement of the election over, the council assembled the following Monday evening to get down to the serious business of governing Cedarville. In chairs at one end of the room sat twenty-five

or thirty citizens.

Mrs. Foster, the new member of the council, was sworn in by the Clerk. She repeated aloud the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen and an oath saying that she would do her duty as a councillor honestly and to the best of her ability.

After the Mayor had welcomed Mrs. Foster, the minutes, or written record, of the previous meeting were read by the Clerk and passed

by the council.

Routine business was dealt with smoothly for half an hour. Then Mr. Danski said: "Mr. Chairman, I move that a committee of two be appointed by the Mayor to consult with the Town Engineer and to submit recommendations for the improvement of our fire-fighting services and equipment."

"I second the motion," said Mr.

Van Engel.

This motion did not mean that the council had already decided to buy the new fire engine and pay for it by raising the mill rate. But everyone realized that this was the

first step.

Councillor Steinberg believed that the taxes were high enough. So he immediately spoke up: "Mr. Chairman, I move that the motion be amended by adding the following words: 'without increasing the present cost'."

"Is there a seconder for the amendment?" asked the Mayor. No one spoke. "There being no seconder, I cannot accept the . . . "

Then Mrs. Foster said, "I second the motion," adding, "in order to bring it to a vote."

"The amending motion has been moved and seconded," said the Mayor; "is there any discussion?"

Councillors Steinberg and Danski briefly stated their views. No one then speaking up, the chairman requested the Clerk to read the motion and the amendment. "All those in favour of the amendment raise your hands," continued the chairman. Councillor Steinberg voted. "Those opposed raise your hands," continued the chairman. "The motion to amend is lost," he announced when the other three members of council voted against it.

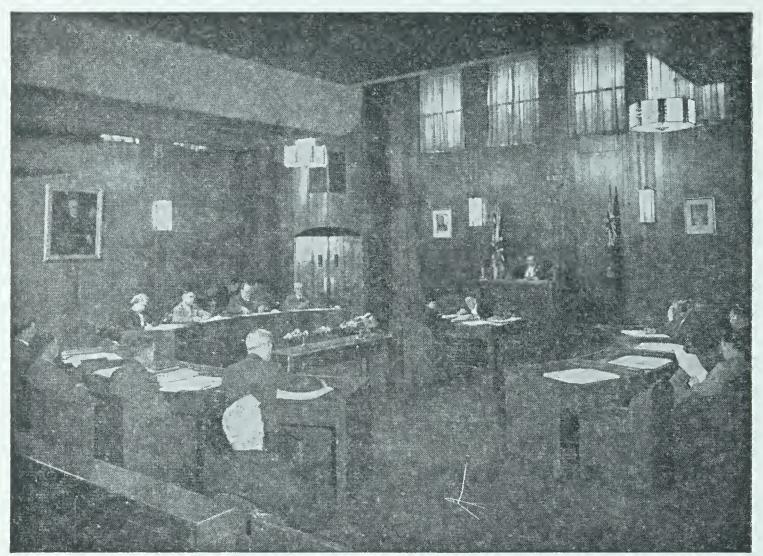
The council then carried the original motion by the same three-to-one vote.

Let the majority rule. "I rise to a question of privilege," said Mr. Steinberg. "May I make a statement, Mr. Chairman?"

"Your privilege is granted," re-

plied the Mayor.

Mr. Steinberg spoke seriously. "A few people in town have been connecting my name with a letter in the Courier signed Disgusted Taxpayer. The letter said that the writer intended to move away if taxes were raised. I wish to state that I had absolutely nothing to do with that letter. Mr. Van Engel will, I am sure, support my statement. As you know, I disagree with some of you on how we should improve our town. As this is a free country, I shall continue to state my views. But when the citizens decide against me, I willingly ac-



Courtesy Vancouver City Council

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT IN ACTION

The struggle of Canadians for the right to govern themselves occupied a good part of the story of Canada in the nineteenth century. That right is one of our most prized possessions as a democratic nation. In this picture we see self-government being exercised in the form which concerns us most closely, the municipal council.

cept the decision of the majority and bear no grudge. You may count on my support in all efforts to make a better Cedarville."

Usually, Mayor Carmichael scowled furiously and sternly asked for order when any spectators made a noise during council meetings. But tonight the council joined in the applause for Mr. Steinberg's statement. In fact, the applause was just as enthusiastic as that which had greeted the reelected Mayor when he had entered the room that evening.

"Thank you for your sportsmanlike attitude," said Mayor Carmichael. "Actually, we agree with you on many things. When we do disagree, it is very valuable to hear the other fellow's viewpoint."

A bigger and better Cedarville. One evening in the following January, Mayor Carmichael caught up with Mr. Van Engel as they walked along the main street in the teeth of a chill north wind.

"Not the sort of night that would remind one of parks and birds and canoeing on the river," remarked Van Engel, the editor, ruefully, as he shielded his face from the winter gale. "Much more suitable for fires and electricity."

"Well, we'll hear all about those and a lot more tonight," replied the Mayor cheerfully. "You don't wait till the middle of summer to plant flower seeds in that prize-winning garden of yours; if we want a better Cedarville this summer, a winter's evening is a good time to start planning."

"Anything to get out of this icy blast," said the editor, as they entered the town hall. "Let's get inside and plant a few seeds for a Community Club and a new dam. We'll see what the blooms are like next August."

Inside, the council chamber presented a busy scene. A score of men and women chatted and laughed in friendly fashion as they began to seat themselves in chairs arranged in a large circle.

At eight o'clock, Mayor Carmichael called the conference to order.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I'm pleased to see that all our chairs are filled; in that way I know that we have representatives here from every organization to which invitations were sent. On behalf of the council, I welcome you all. Most of you know the reason for this round-table conference. I shall give only a very brief introduction before we begin the business of the evening.

"Developments are planned for Cedarville in the near future. There are the new community centre, new courses in the school, the building of another church, taking electricity to the farms, a new dam, and several more. The council feels that the time is ripe for members of the main organizations in our town to talk over these new projects.

"What one group of citizens does may help or hinder another group. By exchanging information, we can draw up a good master plan for the town's future. Needless argument and wasted effort will be avoided. Each group can co-operate in its own way in building a bigger and better Cedarville.

"First the chairman of our school board, Mr. Hans Larsen, will tell us the plans already made to provide better education for children of Cedarville and the surrounding farm district."

Canada school, new style. Mr. Hans Larsen had been a member of the school board for four years. At the election the previous autumn he had been chosen again by the voters. He had been elected as chairman by the two other members of the board.

"Mr. Chairman," said Mr. Larsen, "the approval given by the citizens last fall to the community centre by-law gave a great encouragement to the school board. As you know, the new centre is to be built as an addition to our school. The main hall will be used both as a theatre and as a gymnasium. The pupils will also be able to use the library in the new building.

"You may wonder what we are going to do with the two rooms now being used in our school basement as a library and a small gym. In these rooms, we plan to install the equipment needed to give new courses in woodworking, machine shop, electricity, and homemaking.

"We live today in a world of machines and science. To carry on our ordinary jobs, especially if we live on farms or in small towns, we all need to know something about elec-

tric motors, gasoline engines, carpentry and metal work. Our girls should know about proper diet, clothes-making, child care, and all homecraft.

"The new courses will give all the boys and girls of Cedarville and of the surrounding farms a chance to get valuable knowledge into their heads and useful skills into their hands.

"This does not mean that the three R's—reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic—will be neglected. They are even more important today than in grandfather's time. With atomic energy, planes and radios, we need better educated worker-citizens than ever before.

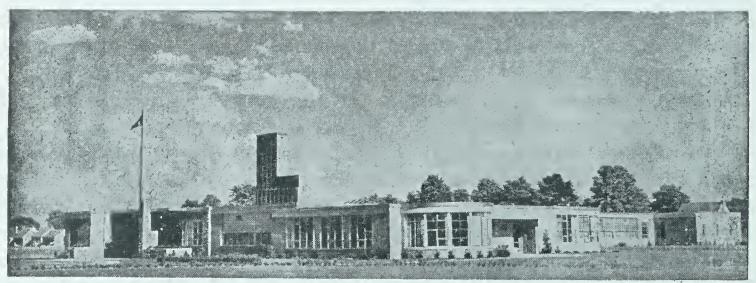
"We have spent a large sum of money on our school building. It seems a shame that it should be used only seven hours a day. There is a new idea abroad best described by the phrase 'the lighted schoolhouse.' This means that adults can make use of the schools at night.

"We are co-operating closely with

the Cedarville Community Club in our plans. Just how the citizens of Cedarville and district will use the community centre and the 'lighted schoolhouse,' I shall let the president of the Community Club tell you."

C.C.C. — Cedarville Community Club. The president of the C.C.C. followed Mr. Larsen. "Mr. Chairman, a few people are doubtful about the Community Club. They say to me, 'Why do we need a new organization in town? We already have church groups, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, the Chamber of Commerce, and many others.'

"I have a double answer for them. First, if we run our Club properly, it should give the different groups in town a chance to mix together. I see at this meeting people whose grandparents came from many countries — Poland, France, China, England, and others. I see people here who have different religious beliefs, who work at different jobs. But we're all



Department of Education, Ontario

THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

With the school being brought into closer co-operation with the community and acting, in many districts, as a community centre, a new kind of school is needed, like the one in Sarnia, Ontario, shown here. Which government is responsible for building schools? For paying teachers? For determining what the pupils will study?

Canadians, we're all citizens of Cedarville. So we'll all be able to take part in the activities at the

community centre.

"Secondly, many of us in the Club feel that there is a danger nowadays of suffering from 'spectatoritis'—that is, always watching other people and hardly ever doing anything ourselves. Movies and radio and hockey games are fine entertainment. But we believe every person should at one time or another be a doer as well as a spectator.

"Therefore, the Community Club will provide all kinds of things for people to do at the centre. The school shops that Mr. Larsen has mentioned will be used at night by young people and adults. The main hall can be used for basketball and gymnastics, for large meetings and film showings. Our drama club plans to use the hall as a theatre for plays and variety shows.

"Some of our members have already organized into groups to listen to Citizens' Forum and Farm Forum. These radio programmes by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation bring us discussions by experts on many topics of wide interest. After the broadcasts, our members have a chance to say what they think about the questions discussed. The ideas from many groups are sent to the central office, thus we learn what Canadians from various parts of the country think about farming, crime, juvenile delinguency, schools, health, many other topics.

"The Women's Institute will sponsor hobby classes in weaving,

leatherwork, model building, painting, and other activities. The Cedarville band, our choirs and other musical groups will be able to stage concerts and festivals in the hall.

"Doing things for ourselves is more valuable than watching others do them. It's much more fun too! To start off in the right spirit, we're even going to do most of the work on the new building ourselves. If we're not all amateur carpenters and painters now, we shall be when the centre is finished!"

A park with a purpose. Mayor Carmichael spoke up. "A part of our plans for the community centre is the project of making a memorial park around the central buildings. Our Parks and Town Planning Board is in charge of this part of the master plan for Cedarville. The Board is appointed by the council and is made up of one councillor and three citizens. In honour of the men of Cedarville and district who died in the two World Wars, the park is to be a living memorial, that is, a memorial which can be used to improve our lives in this community. The Canadian Legion, our organization of war veterans, has taken a keen interest in this project. We have, therefore, chosen a member of the Legion, Mr. Dennis, as a member of the Parks Board. Mr. Dennis will you tell us about the memorial park?"

"Mr. Chairman, our Cedarville branch of the Legion believes that our sailors, soldiers, and airmen who died would wish their memorial to make Cedarville a better and more beautiful place.

"Every person in town, from age

one to one hundred, will be able to use the new park. There will be playing fields for baseball and football, basketball and volleyball, running and jumping. These will be right beside the school and community centre buildings. Between the playing fields and the river will be walks and picnic grounds among the trees. When the new dam is finished, we shall make arrangements for canoeing, rowing, swimming and diving.

"Up to now, our town has been like Topsy in the book 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' who 'just growed.' From now on, we intend to plan carefully so that we shall have all roads and buildings in our town as safe and

attractive as possible.

"We have already co-operated with the citizens who are building a new church. Together, we arranged for the best site. When the time comes to build a new skating and curling rink, we shall have a good place for it close to the school and community centre."

Beautify Cedarville! "I think I should chuck in my two bits' worth," declared Mr. Franklin Smith, president of the town's Chamber of Commerce. "Every spring for the past several years our members have had a campaign to beautify Cedarville. Naturally, we are heartily in favour of the new community centre and the memorial park, because they will make our town much more attractive.

"However, our campaign is really to encourage each citizen to take pride in his own house and garden. What makes one town more attractive than another? A river and a park certainly help. But other things are even more important—well-painted houses, clean streets, trees around the homes, flowers in the gardens, neat stores.

"This year we are also sponsoring several contests during Cedarville Fair Week in August. There will be prizes given for the best gardens, most attractive houses, and for the street with the best boulevard and lane.

"If every citizen does his bit in beautifying Cedarville, our town will make our citizens feel proud and make new businesses want to come here."

Electric hired hands. Mr. Carmichael next called upon the engineer from the Farm Electrification Board.

"I've listened with great interest to your plans," said the engineer. "However, we all realize that we shan't be able to build the things we want unless Cedarville's citizens continue to have good jobs with good pay. That depends on having good farms in the countryside around the town.

"All towns need farms around to provide food for the townsfolk. But many towns in Canada get more than food from the farms. The farmers grow grains or fruit, and raise livestock or poultry. Much of this food is sold to other countries of the world. With the money they receive, the farmers come into the towns to buy clothes, tractors, gasoline, drugs, and many other things. The money they spend makes jobs for the townspeople.

"So the people in a town like

Cedarville should be very interested in the farms around. If the farms are poor, the town will be poor. If the farms are prosperous, the town will be prosperous.

"In recent years, many people have moved from the farms into the towns, because the work on the farm has been hard. From dawn to dark, many farmers work at ploughing, cultivating, milking, and a dozen other jobs. With cars, tractors, and radios, life has become easier on the farm, but the hired hands and the farmers still have many heavy tasks.

"Now, we are bringing another kind of hired hand to the farm. By constructing power lines, we take electricity to the farms to do some of the long, hard jobs—milking the cows, for example. Electricity also helps the farm housewives who can now have electric washing machines, refrigerators, stoves, vacuum cleaners, and other appliances.

"Electrification of our farms will help the farmers. When it helps the farmers, it also helps towns such as Cedarville which provide services and goods for the farms around."

A dam for profit and pleasure. After the electrical engineer had answered several questions from other members of the round-table conference, the chairman introduced the provincial government's agricultural representative. Although the Ag Rep, as he was commonly called, was away a good deal visiting the farms for miles around, he was usually home in his Cedarville headquarters at this time of year.

"Mr. Chairman, water can be a good friend or a vicious enemy," said the agricultural representative. "To a desert traveller, water is precious, but to a drowning man, it is a deadly foe. On a farm also, water can be a friend or an enemy. All plants need moisture, but too much water can ruin the land by washing away the top-soil and causing erosion. It's all a question of getting the right amount at the right time. In spring, we usually have too much water from melting snow. In the summer we sometimes have too little for our crops.

"The government is doing as much as possible to solve this problem of moisture on farms. One important part of the work is the construction of dams to hold back some of the extra water in springtime so that it can be used later in the summer. One of these dams will be built right here at Cedarville.

"Profit comes from such a dam because it holds back water to be used by the farmlands along the river. It helps in the very important work of making the most of our soil. We have often wasted and damaged our land in the past by wrong methods. These dams are steps on the road back to proper care of our natural resources.

"Pleasure will come from the dam because we'll have better swimming and boating, as a member of the Park's Board has told us."

Health unlimited. "Mr. Mayor," said the doctor who acted as Cedar-ville's Public Health Officer, "we've heard about protecting our natural

resources such as the soil of our farms and the water of our rivers. That is very necessary; but just as important is the safeguarding of our *human* resources. I should like to tell you of our plans for the health of our citizens.

"We, who make health our business, are not satisfied nowadays to stand by and wait until people fall ill. It is far better to keep people healthy than to cure sick patients.

"With the help of the province, we are organizing a complete health service for Cedarville and district. We are like the soldiers who try to determine what the enemy will do next in order to avoid being surprised. Our enemy is disease. We try to see that germs have no chance to get a foothold. For scarlet fever and such contagious diseases, we give inoculations and vaccinations. For tuberculosis, we have regular X-ray examinations, especially for children. We examine all school students at regular intervals for trouble in eyes, ears and teeth. We give mothers help in caring for babies. We test all supplies of milk and water to be sure they are healthful. We check the cleanliness of restaurants hotels.

"Of course, the treatment of people after they are sick or injured is also very important. A hospital will soon be built in Cedarville to serve the town and all the district around.

"The Red Cross Society works closely with us. It will supply blood transfusions from the city for emergency cases. It is always ready to help in epidemics or disasters.

The Junior Red Cross does valuable work in health education in the schools.

"Many diseases still baffle us; but with a health programme such as I have outlined, Cedarville's citizens should have every chance that science and medicine can offer them, for unlimited health."

Fire as a foe. Mayor Carmichael spoke when the doctor had finished. "Protecting our citizens is a problem with many sides to it. Disease is certainly a deadly enemy. But for a foe that strikes a community swiftly, stealthily and ruthlessly, there is none more deadly than fire. You all heard my ideas on this during the election last fall. Now, the chief of our Volunteer Fire Brigade will tell you what we have done to improve our protection."

"Mr. Chairman, I'd like to ask this conference to imagine that a fire is breaking out in a Cedarville home this very instant. Here is how our fire fighting forces would swing into action. The alarm would be sent as soon as possible to the telephone exchange. The operator there presses a button which sets off our siren whose ear-splitting noise is guaranteed to wake the soundest sleeper! In less than three minutes our new fire engine is on its way to the location phoned to the fire-hall by the operator.

"With our efficient fire-truck, we stand a good chance of putting out any fire in town before very much damage or injury results. When the new dam is built, our water supply will be more dependable at all seasons of the year.

"Our fire brigade would prefer if

it practised most of the time and fought few real fires. A great deal of its time should be spent in teaching how fires should be prevented. Most fires could be prevented and we try to educate our citizens to take proper precautions. However, we must always be ready. Unfortunately, people are sometimes careless and accidents do occur."

"Courtesy is catching!" "One other kind of protection that concerns us all," said Mr. Carmichael, "is provided by our local constable. He is assisted when necessary by that famous force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. You have all heard about the Mounties who 'always get their man!' In the old days this was done by courage, intelligence, and stamina. Let me tell you, the men of the R.C.M.P. still have those qualities, but they also use every means of transportation, and of scientific crime detection, from chemistry to aeroplanes. Corporal Stacey of the Mounties is with us tonight to tell us of one other part of their work."

"Mr. Chairman," began Corporal Stacey, "mothers sometimes used to scare their children when they were bad by telling them the policeman would get them if they didn't behave. Children often thought of a constable as a bogey-man in uniform. As they grew up, they often looked on the police with fear and apprehension.

"We in the R.C.M.P. think that is wrong. We want children and adults to feel that the police are friends who are as anxious to help honest citizens as to catch prowling robbers.

"All the people decide through their governments what things they won't allow anyone to do, such as stealing and dangerous driving. Then laws are passed against all these harmful things and everyone must obey these laws. That's fair because everyone shares in the making of the laws, through his Member of Parliament. The police are the community's conscience, and sometimes a conscience, even though necessary, isn't too popular!

"The R.C.M.P. is carrying on youth work today to try to make our children realize what the policeman's job really is. We also try to point out to them how much trouble rudeness can cause to themselves and to other people, on the highways and on the sidewalks.

"Rudeness is like a cold germ; it's contagious. One person being rude makes others rude. Fortunately, courtesy is catching as well. Without courtesy, it is almost impossible for people to run their own country properly. It is the oil that makes our democratic engine run smoothly. Rudeness is sand that causes friction and heat in our whole way of living.

"Respect for laws which have been created by the majority of the citizens is only courtesy to our fellow countrymen. Those are the lessons the R.C.M.P. is trying to teach our Canadian youth."

Mayor Carmichael spoke again. "I wish to thank all those from our various organizations who have spoken. Now, the conference is open for questions and general discussion . . ."

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

Canada is a land of differences. The traveller will see the soaring Rockies, the flat plains, the rugged sea-coasts. He will experience a mild and damp January in Victoria, a cold and dry January in Winnipeg, a cold and damp January in Halifax. He will see Anglo-Saxon faces, French faces, Chinese, Jewish, Negro, Ukrainian faces; Anglican churches, Christian Science, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, and United churches; and in the streets he will notice the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Truly, "variety is the spice of life" in Canada. Canadian life is no drab one-colour tapestry, but has vivid strands representative of many different lands and tongues. This varied pattern makes Canadian communities interesting and novel. Likewise, it should, and does, make Canadians more tolerant and broad-minded. We try to see the other fellow's viewpoint. If he likes a different kind of food, or speaks English with a strange twist, that's all the more reason to get to know the interesting background of your fellow Canadian. We should be the losers ourselves if we laughed at customs any different from our own, or if we ignored them.

Find out about the different backgrounds of people in your town or village or city. Have you ever learned a song in Ukrainian? Have you sung Negro spirituals? Have you ever heard Chinese music? Have you seen a dancer do the Highland fling, or an Italian tarantella, or a Swedish schottische? Other interesting topics to investigate are the costumes, the folk-tales, and the national songs of other countries, whose people have become patriotic and

respected Canadians.

In the government of our towns, cities, and municipalities, too, we have wide variations across Canada. Sometimes the head of a municipality is called a reeve, sometimes a mayor. Some town councils are large and some are small. Some small communities

are called villages in one province, and towns in another.

Find out the following things about your own community: the mill rate; the taxes your parents pay; the titles of officials; the size of the council and school board; how often meetings are held by these bodies; whether the town is divided into wards (parts) or not; how elections are run; whether all citizens have a vote in your district and if not, why not; what percentage of voters cast their ballots at the last election; how many "Letters to the Editor" are printed in an average issue of your local paper.

Has your town or city or municipality any plans for improvements? If so, find out about the plans. How will these improvements affect your family? How much will they cost to put into

effect? About how much will the average family have to pay?

How is public health cared for in your community? Who are the public health workers in your district?

Is there a river near your home? If so, how is it used for the

benefit of the citizens?

What kind of fire protection do you have for your homes?

Some communities and provinces have their own police constables, some depend on the R.C.M.P. How is police protection arranged in your community?

Starting Points for Class Discussion

I. Some schools have a student's fee which all the pupils are asked to pay. With money raised in this way parties may be held, a year-book printed, or additional sports equipment obtained. Usually, a student doesn't have to pay the fee unless he wishes. Is such a fee like a government tax? If not, what is the difference?

2. When you have a class party, only those students pay for it who attend the party. When the government levies taxes, everyone must pay. Why are different rules followed in these two cases?

3. In Canada and other democratic nations, candidates seldom gain office by acclamation—that is, without an election being held because only one person is nominated. Occasionally this happens when all the voters agree that one man is best for the office. In some countries, the only candidate nominated for any position is a person chosen by the government. Often such a candidate will have 97% of the votes "for" him and only 1% "against" him. Can you think of any reason why it is better to have two or three candidates than just one?

4. Do you think that people ever get something for nothing in this world? Would you be a better or a worse citizen if you always

got things for nothing?

5. Whenever you buy something from a store, you have to pay for it. Paying taxes is a special way of buying things we all need, though some people complain about taxes as a waste of money. Do you think the tax money spent in your city or town is wasted?

6. Can you think of any reasons why it is better to have 90%

of the citizens vote at an election than 30%?

7. Do you follow the rule of the majority in your student activities, in your teams, and in your clubs? Why do you think the spectators at the Cedarville council meeting applauded Mr. Steinberg's speech? Was he following the rule of the majority?

Chapter 2 - How We Work with Neighbours in Our Province

Cedarville on a large scale. A fourengined jet airliner carrying half a hundred people, and a singleengined two-seater sport plane; if you saw these two machines side by side at an aerodrome, you would notice all kinds of differences—size, power, shape, noise, and many others. Yet the two planes have some very important points in common. They both have wings, a power system, steering mechanisms, landing wheels. They are both built for the same purpose, to fly.

When we compare a municipality, like our imaginary town of Cedarville, with a province, we shall at first get the impression that they are as different from each other as the two planes. That first impression is quite correct. A province and a town are different in size, power, shape, and the "noise" or publicity they cause. But they also have some very important points in common, just as the two aeroplanes have. Province and town both have taxes, elected representatives, a leader, and a system of using power. They are both created for the same purpose, to govern.

You have read about Cedarville. You have compared it with your own municipality, village, town, or city. When you consider the government of a province, you realize that a provincial government is like Cedarville's government on a bigger scale.

The purpose of government in village or province is the same: to get things done that the citizens want to have done.

If you understand how Cedarville or your own town governs itself, you should easily understand how a province governs itself. The procedure is the same. The citizens vote by secret ballot to elect a few men and women to represent everybody at regular meetings. The representatives vote on each question and, of course, the majority rules.

Naturally, there are many differences between town and provincial governments, even if the idea behind them is the same. In this chapter, we shall consider some of the ways in which a province is different from a municipality.

Who is my neighbour? The title of this chapter speaks of our neighbours in the province.

When your great-grandfather spoke of his neighbours, he meant the people living nearby whom he saw every day or two and with whom he co-operated in the community. We still use the word in this way most of the time.

But in recent years, we have been able to travel around much more quickly, and to cross our whole country in less than a day. We have realized that we must cooperate, not only with the people on our street, but with many people in other parts of our country and the world.

The president of the United

States has used the phrase "Good Neighbour Policy" to describe how the American citizens feel towards the peoples with whom they share the Western Hemisphere. Many men and women feel that they must be more friendly and co-operative with people of other provinces and lands; in other words they must be more neighbourly.

We use the word in this chapter to remind us that we must cooperate with all citizens in our province. Sometimes we disagree with our neighbours. We may have some arguments about roads, or schools, or taxes. But we agree on many things that we are all working for; and even when disagreeing, we must remember that shaking hands after an argument is much better than shaking fists!

Why friends disagree. Four boys stood on the bank of a creek on the outskirts of Cedarville. They wanted to get across to the other side but the bed of the stream was a springtime mixture of slush and mud. One boy said, "Let's not take any chances. We'd better walk down to the bridge."

A second boy objected. "That would take far too long. We could probably throw a couple of logs down to make a crossing."

The third boy declared, "Oh, we should be able to jump across if we look for a narrow place."

"Why wait?" cried the fourth boy, "let's try jumping across right here!"

The next week when the creek was filled by the melting snow, the boys decided to build a log bridge. The problem was, where to place

it? Each boy wanted the bridge close to his house. Finally, after a good deal of argument, they decided to look for the best place to build it, no matter whose home was closest to the spot.

Adults are like these boys in many ways. People may be friends. They may agree to carry out some plan. But they have different ideas on how it should be carried out. Like the boys at the creek, some want to act very slowly, some want to act quickly. A few persons may say they agree, but may really try to hinder the work, either because they don't like the other people, or because they think they are better off without any changes.

When doing anything, like building a bridge, people naturally want to get some good out of it for themselves. It is difficult, but necessary, to think about the project in the best way possible.

In a province or a country, people who want to make changes slowly form a group to try to win an election and control the government. Other people who want to make changes more quickly form another group, also to try to win the election. These groups are called political parties. They have many difficulties, because they include people from many different parts of the province or nation. Often, a tug-of-war goes on inside each party as the people from one region argue with those from another.

There are several of these parties in Canada. Their names are Liberal, Progressive Conservative, C.C.F. (Co-operative Common-

wealth Federation), Social Credit and Labour Progressive. Sometimes, two of these parties join together for a while to form what is called a coalition. In Canada only the province of Manitoba is governed by a coalition.

EXTRA!! PROVINCE TO GO TO POLLS. So read the big black headlines of The Herald, one of the city newspapers arriving in Cedarville on the late evening train. The headline on the other paper, The Mail, said: PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS MAY 20.

The report in *The Herald* stated:

PREMIER CALLS ELECTION FOR MAY 20; ALL PARTIES PREPARE STRONG CAMPAIGNS

May 20 has been set as the date for provincial general elections, the Premier of the province announced this morning. The Government will not complete its full five year term. It has now been in office for three years and eleven months.

The Premier in his official statement gave no reason for the dissolution of the legislature. He will make a radio speech tomorrow evening stating his Government's position.

Rumours in political circles for the past month have predicted that the Government would go to the polls this spring. Until today, officials have refused to say

anything for publication.

A Government spokesman, who did not wish to be named, said: "It is a good time for the election. The conference next autumn between Dominion and provincial governments will be of the greatest importance, as it will deal with the sharing of taxes between the governments. It is wise to have our province represented by a government fresh from a victory at the polls."

The Leader of the Opposition in the Legislature made public the following statement: "My party gladly accepts the challenge issued by the Government. We are confident that the citizens of this

province want a change. The weak government of the past four years should be replaced by one which will attack our provincial problems with vigour. The reason for the early calling of the election is quite obvious. The Government knows that the tide of public feeling is turning against it and wishes to have the election contest before the tide becomes stronger."

An immediate outburst of political activity followed the Premier's statement. All parties have called meetings of their provincial councils for next week-end.

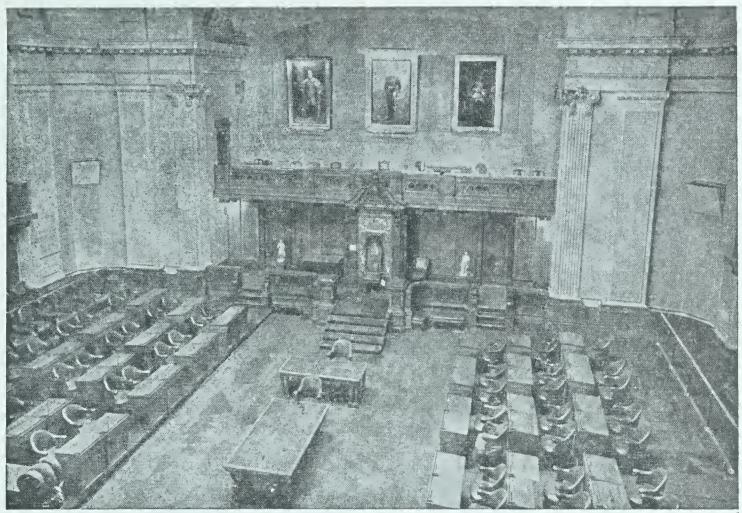
Each party has already announced the policies it intends to follow if it gains a majority in the election. These platforms were adopted at annual conventions held during the past winter. At the meetings this week-end, finishing touches will be given to the election platforms before the appeal to the voters begins in earnest next week.

The Herald says The Herald usually supported the Government. On the other hand, The Mail supported the official Opposition party, which had the second largest number of members in the Legislature. Both newspapers had stories about the election on their front pages. There was very little difference in the two reports, except that The Herald had the Government spokesman's remarks before the Leader of the Opposition's statement, while The Mail reversed that order in its story.

However, readers in Cedarville who looke dat the editorial pages of the two papers found striking differences in the comments made there. For example, an editorial in *The Herald* began:

The Government has undoubtedly made a wise decision in announcing early elections in the province. The Premier's statement tomorrow will be awaited with wide interest.

In the meantime, it is safe to say that there are clear advantages in having the



Courtesy Executive Council Government of Saskatchewan

THE FLOOR OF THE HOUSE

The Assembly Chamber of the provincial legislature of Saskatchewan differs in no important detail but size from the House of Commons at Ottawa or the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster. Who sits in the great seat at the back of the Chamber? Who occupy the desks at the right of this official? To the left?

voting this spring. A Government can retain office without an election for five years. There would have to be an appeal to the citizens next spring at the latest. The negotiations with the Dominion this coming autumn will be delicate and long-drawn-out. The Premier and his advisers would not be able to give their whole attention to the conference at Ottawa if they had to keep a weather eye on the political scene back home in preparation for an election.

There is, as well, the growing tradition of provincial elections every four years. A provincial Government may stay in power for five years if it keeps its majority in the Assembly. But there have been many examples in recent years of general elections at four-year intervals. . . .

The Mail says A different attitude altogether was revealed in

The Mail's editorial. Its first two paragraphs ran:

Few people will be fooled by the Government's attempt to take the electors off their guard by a snap election. It is certainly high time that the Government's actions over the past four years should be submitted to the approval of the electorate. The election campaign of the next few weeks will provide that opportunity.

The Government's political advisers have doubtless warned it of the alarming increase in dissatisfaction among the citizens of our province. Another year of the same confusion and waste that has been common since the last election, would probably doom the Government to certain defeat at the polls.

Papers, politics, and propaganda. Canadian elections are exciting events. Many people get as excited over them as spectators do at a thrilling hockey game. Newspaper editors, also, are affected by the excitement of elections. It is always necessary to read the papers with this question in mind: Is the writer telling the whole story? At election time such questioning is especially important.

On their front pages, most Canadian newspapers do very well in giving the citizens all the facts and figures about taxes, roads, and other public problems. But on the editorial pages, the situation is somewhat different, as we have seen with *The Herald* and *The Mail*. Almost all Canadian papers lean towards one party or another.

The majority of editors in Canada try very hard to write only the truth. They do not hesitate to criticize the party their newspapers support if they think the party is making a mistake. But it is very difficult for one person to find the whole truth on any subject.

"Propaganda" is not looked upon with any favour in our country nowadays. The word has come to mean information which is misused to persuade people to believe or do something. Most Canadian newspapers try hard to avoid propaganda. But in political matters even the best papers are inclined to stress the good in their own party and emphasize the evil in the others.

We must not think that this is a wicked way of discussing our affairs. There are some definite advantages to the system. If each editor is allowed to give his ideas

freely to the public, then the public can choose the best ideas. Sometimes one editor will hit on the truth; sometimes another. Each paper will work hard to persuade its readers. It will dig up every fact and every bit of information it possibly can, to support its ideas.

The newspapers, therefore, are very important in our country. They help the political parties to get all the evidence out where the people can see and hear it. If a citizen knows many facts about his country, he can vote more wisely than if he knows only a few.

A person in Cedarville, for example, could get a much better idea of the truth by reading both *The Herald* and *The Mail*. If he reads only one paper, he may be seeing only half the picture. "Don't believe *everything* you read!" would be a good motto for him.

Question time. Miss Rogers spoke to her class in the Cedarville school at the beginning of the Question Period the morning after the date of the provincial elections was announced. "When one of our citizens from Cedarville is elected to our provincial Assembly or to the Parliament at Ottawa, he has a very important privilege. He can ask any question he likes concerning public business. The government will nearly always answer his questions, unless the information is secret, as it often is in wartime.

"Asking is an excellent way of learning. This is question time. Have you any question to ask about the provincial elections?" said the teacher.

Joan McTavish was the first to

ask a question. "Miss Rogers, we had elections in Cedarville last fall. Now we're having elections for a government for the province. At Ottawa there's still a third government. My dad says we pay taxes to all these governments. Do we need so many?"

"Here are the figures, Joan. They may surprise you! We have about 28,000 elected groups connected with government in Canada. Most of them are school boards—24,000 approximately—with about 4,000 other governing bodies. That's about one for every 500 Canadians! It does seem a lot, doesn't it?

"However, there are two answers to your question, Joan. First, the various governments have different tasks. Sometimes their work overlaps, but not often. For example, the government at Ottawa looks after the defence of Canada against any enemies, but it doesn't do much about schools. Our school board looks after education in Cedarville, but it leaves defence matters to the men at Ottawa. This, of course, is taking the most exaggerated example, but it will serve to give you an idea of the difference in the tasks of different governments.

"Secondly, it takes a great deal of practice to govern anything well. With so many governments in Canada, many men and women get used to working on councils and committees. We always have a considerable number of experienced people to govern our province and our Dominion."

As usual, Uno Kask had a question ready. He asked, "Miss Rog-

ers, how does this provincial government get its money? Does it have a share of the taxes on our houses?"

"No, Uno," replied Miss Rogers, "the province doesn't get any money from taxes on land or houses. But it has the right to collect other kinds of taxes. Whenever we buy gasoline or a theatre ticket, a share of the price goes to the province. In some provinces a direct sales tax is paid on almost every item sold anywhere in the province. In addition, each province receives grants of money from the Dominion. Additional money comes from the sale of licences, such as automobile licences."

"I nominate . . . " On a Monday afternoon two weeks after the elections had been announced, Miss Rogers called Bob and Henry to the front of the room and then spoke to the class.

"Today we are going to hear a report from Bob and Henry on the nominating convention held in Cedarville last week. Bob, perhaps you might begin by telling how you and Henry happened to be at the convention."

"Miss Rogers, fellow students. We've read in history books about page boys. They used to run errands for knights and ladies back in the days of chivalry. Page boys aren't just in books. You're looking at two of them now.

"Henry and I acted as pages at the convention that the Liberal party held last week to nominate a candidate for the election. My father is secretary of the Liberal Association for this constituency. He took the two of us along to carry notes and messages back and forth during the meeting, as the page boys do in the Legislature.

"We were kept pretty busy," said Henry, taking up the story. "At first, four men and Mrs. Stevens were nominated, but after Bob and I hurried around with several notes, two of the men nominated said they wished to withdraw their names. Then Mrs. Stevens and the two other men, Mr. Harvey and Mr. Badette, each gave a talk. Bob, you tell about the speeches."

"Well, I can't give you any details, but they all said they'd work very hard to win the election for the Liberals. They also told what they thought were the most important parts of the Liberal party's platform. Then the voting began.

Henry, you describe that.'

"Remember the mock election we had in class last fall? The voting at the convention was carried on in much the same way, with secret ballots. When the chairman announced that Mr. Harvey had won the nomination, Mrs. Stevens made a motion. Bob, did you ask your dad what that motion was all about?"

"Yes, I did. He told me that Mrs. Stevens moved that the nomination be made unanimous. Mr. Badette seconded the motion. It's really just a way of telling Mr. Harvey that they will give him full support in the election and won't bear a grudge because he beat them out for the nomination."

"Did your dad tell you what the deposit is for, Bob?"

With a smile Bob explained to

the class. "My dad mentioned a deposit to another man when Henry and I were with him. We thought it might be like buying a car; a deposit down and so much a month. But that seemed a queer way of getting a seat in the provincial legislature. Dad laughed when I asked him if that is how it works. He put me right by explaining that each candidate deposits \$200. If he is elected or receives over half as many votes as the winner, he gets the money back. If not, the \$200. goes into the public treasury. The idea is to discourage anybody from running in the election just as a joke."

"Thank you, Bob and Henry," said Miss Rogers. "The other parties are also having nominating conventions in Cedarville within the next day or two. They will decide on their candidates in the same way that we have had described

today.′

Politicians minus their politics. The gymnasium in the basement of the Cedarville school served also as an assembly hall. One afternoon, a week before the provincial elections, all the high school students gathered in the hall. Miss Rogers' class was given special permission to attend also.

When the principal, Mr. Johnson, entered with three other men, the audience stopped its lively chattering.

Mr. Johnson guided the visitors to seats on the small platform at one end of the room.

"Honoured guests, members of the staff, and students. It is not a common thing for politicians to be invited into schools in our country, especially at election time. School boards feel, and rightly, that students should be taught facts and allowed to study different ideas about government. But no one should try to persuade you in school that one party is better than another. Your parents will talk to you about politics if they wish. Later, you will want to make up your own minds.

"Today, however, with the approval of our school board, we have with us three politicians. They are not going to argue about politics! We are honoured to welcome the three gentlemen who are running in the election next week. One of them—we won't know which one until the votes are counted—will represent Cedarville and district in the next Assembly at the capital

of our province.

"Mr. Eisenfeld is the candidate for the Progressive Conservative party; Mr. Harvey for the Liberals; and Mr. Temple for the C.C.F. As you will realize, our guests are very busy men these days. However, when I heard that they were speaking to a ladies' meeting in this room at 4:30 today, I seized the opportunity to get them here before school closes. Two of them are former pupils of our school and the other is a member of a neighbouring school board. They are all interested in you who are now students of Cedarville school. They have very kindly consented to come to talk to you. Each will announce his own topic. The first speaker will be Mr. Harry Eisenfeld."

Things we all vote for. "Mr. Chairman, members of the staff, students of Cedarville school," began Mr. Eisenfeld. "When three politicians from different parties get together on one platform during an election campaign, they usually make the fur fly! If this were a regular meeting, I should tell you emphatically why Mr. Harvey and Mr. Temple, good fellows though they are, have very foolish and mistaken ideas. should also tell you my ideas which, of course, are intelligent and farsighted! Then Mr. Harvey and Mr. Temple would each explain how wrong I am and offer their own right ideas.

"That sort of thing makes it interesting for the audience, because most people enjoy a good word fight. However, we're not going to argue at this meeting. We're having a one-hour truce! You students are probably still learning the A B C's—Assemblies, ballots, candidates—of our government system

of our government system.

"So we've decided to tell you about things we all agree about in this country. Sometimes we get so busy arguing about roads and schools and taxes that we forget the many things we all vote for every time we use our ballots.

Hockey and democracy. "I imagine everyone here knows something about hockey. You would be able to explain our national game to a foreign visitor. You would tell him that it is played on ice, that there are six players on each team, that all players wear skates, and you would give him other information about blue lines, offsides, goalkeep-



"Hydro News" H.E.P.C. of Ontario

HELP FOR THE FARMER

Development of electric power is one of the tasks of provincial governments. Rural electrification has made farm work easier.

ers, and so on. Now, certain things, such as those that I have just mentioned, are agreed on beforehand. Every player must agree to abide by the rules and obey the referee. Otherwise, it would be impossible to play the game because there would be continual arguing about the rules. When you use the word hockey you mean all these various conditions and regulations.

"In governing our country, we also have to abide by many rules, and obey a referee. You all know these rules, because you no doubt use them many times yourselves.

"Suppose you are trying to decide about a school party. Should the party be a dance or a hike? In your discussion, you let everyone speak who wishes to give reasons for one sort of party or the other. That's freedom of speech.

"Then you take a vote on it and you do what the majority decides —say dancing. That's rule of the

majority.

"No one is allowed to punch another person on the nose or hit him with a baseball bat because he doesn't agree with that other person about the party. That is freedom from violence. Words are the only weapons allowed.

"But suppose a small number really dislike dancing. They want to hike anyway and then join the others for refreshments afterwards. You may not be pleased about it, but you don't try to force them to dance. That's respecting the right

of a minority.

"If you are voting for something important, such as electing a school president, you mark your choice on a paper so that the candidates won't know who voted for or against them. That's the secret ballot.

"For convenience, we use one word to describe all these rules, just as you use the word hockey to sum up many rules. The word we use for these ideas and rules of government is democracy.

"We all agree that democracy is the best form of government for our country, because we've learned by experience that we can really build the best countries at the fastest pace by that system. It may seem slow, at times, but it's actually quicker than a 'one-man-is-boss' system, because when you do decide something, you know that no one will feel angry enough to start shooting or punching his opponents.

"Always remember, when you hear democratic politicians arguing, that their agreements are greater than their disagreements, even though you might not think so when they occasionally bark at

each other like angry dogs!"

The machine of government. "Mr. Chairman, fellow guests, members of the staff, and students," said Mr. Harvey after Mr. Johnson had introduced him. "Mr. Eisenfeld has told you the general ideas on which we base our government. I shall try to explain the details of how a provincial government operates.

"Being a farmer myself, I like to compare a government to that wonderful machine which we use for harvesting our grain crops. It's called a combine because it is a combination of two older machines that used to cut and thresh the grain separately. I'm sure most of you have heard of a combineharvester if you haven't seen one.

"When you watch one of these machines working, you see that there are dozens of parts, big and small, moving quickly or slowly, but each one doing its own job. If one part breaks, the whole combine either stops or doesn't run properly.

"Our provincial government can be compared to a combine machine, because it has many parts and it must have all parts working properly to do its job.

"The Legislative Assembly is the most important part of government. The numbers vary with the province, but in our province the Assembly is a group of forty-eight men elected from all sections of the province. After the election next week, either Mr. Eisenfeld, Mr. Temple, or myself will be a member of that Assembly, representing your parents and all the other people around Cedarville.

"When the election is over, all the successful candidates go to the capital. The leader of the party with the most members visits a man called the Lieutenant-Governor, who is appointed by the Dominion government to represent Queen Elizabeth II in our province. The Lieutenant-Governor asks the leader to take charge of governing

the province.

"The leader is then called the Premier, which is French for first, meaning he is the first or chief man in the government. He chooses other important members of his party in the Assembly and asks them to be Ministers. Each Minister is head of a department, such as Agriculture, Education, Public Health, Public Works, Municipal Affairs, Finance, and so on. He must see that the department does its job properly and he must explain to the Assembly what his department is doing.

"The Premier and the other Ministers form what is called the Cabinet, which is another important part of the government machine. The Premier appoints the other Ministers. However, he keeps his

own job only if his party votes for him in the Assembly. If a majority of members is dissatisfied with what the Premier does, and votes against him, he must resign at once.

"The Cabinet decides when the Assembly will begin its meetings, which must be held at least once a year. During the meetings, laws are made or changed; the Government party tells what it has done and what it's going to do; and the Opposition parties usually criticize

the Government severely.

"When the Assembly has voted to do a certain thing, such as build a road, then people who work all the time for the government must actually carry out the work. Under the Minister who is the head of the department there is a permanent official who has the title of Deputy Minister. It is the job of the Deputy to suggest policy. When the policy has been presented to the Assembly by the Minister, and adopted by it, it becomes the task of the Deputy actually to carry it out. Ministers may change when Governments change; the Deputy Minister usually carries on under all Governments. This is to make sure that the public business is not too seriously interfered with every four years or so, whenever the Government changes. The permanent employees of all the Ministries are called the Civil Service. Citizens who wish to become members of the Civil Service must write examinations, and those receiving the highest marks get the appointments.

"These are the main parts of the government machine, then,-Lieutenant-Governor, Assembly, Cabinet, and Civil Service. All parts must work smoothly together if our province is to be well governed.

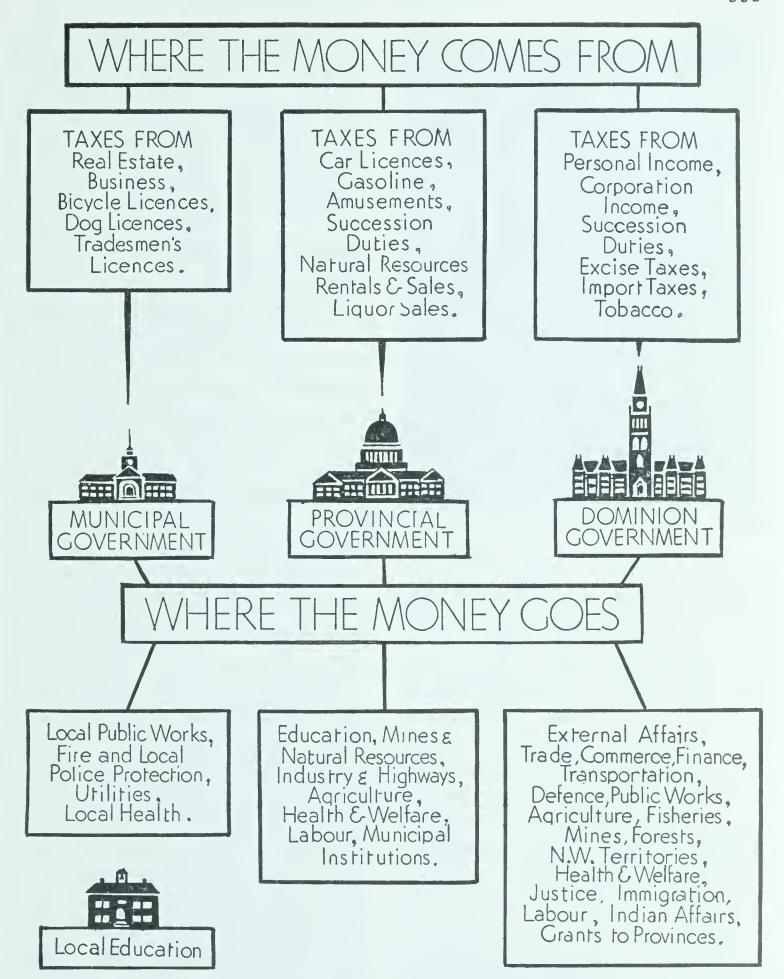
"But a combine-harvester needs gasoline or oil to keep it going, and a government needs funds. Mr. Temple will tell you how the province deals with the problem of money."

On the floor of the House. Temple addressed the meeting and told his audience that he was a former pupil of Cedarville school who was pleased to return to the familiar rooms and halls.

Then he continued: "Of the various parts of the government Mr. Harvey mentioned, the most important is the Assembly. It is the heart and centre of the whole system that we use for governing ourselves. The place where its meetings are held is usually called the House, because the British House of Commons is the model for our own Assemblies in Canada. It is in the Assembly—on the floor of the House—that the important questions are decided.

"You have read in your history studies about the struggles between king and Parliament in Britain. The chief power that Parliament had was the control of the nation's money, and it guarded that power very carefully. Not a cent of taxes can be collected in our province, nor a cent of government money spent, unless the Assembly gives its approval. The main business done by our Assembly is to decide each year what the taxes will be and how the money shall be spent.

"The province gets its money



THE POWER OF THE PURSE

Control of the national revenue was one of the first rights won in the struggle between king and Parliament in England. The raising and spending of money is still one of the most important tasks of any government. Can you remember any occasion in the story of Canada when the Assemblies refused to vote money for the purpose of carrying on the government? Was this effective in helping the Assemblies gain their rights?

mainly from licences, taxes on gasoline and entertainment, Dominion government grants, and from businesses it controls, such as the sale of liquor. It spends its money chiefly on education, health, and highways.

"When the Cabinet asks the Assembly to approve taxes and the spending of money, any Member can question any item. Suppose, for example, the Member from Cedarville thought that too much government money was being spent on tourist advertising and too little on forest fire prevention. He could ask for all the information about these expenditures and then try to persuade the House to change them.

"So important is this scrutiny of money matters that the Assembly pays a special salary to the chief man of the second largest party. He is called the Leader of the Opposition. One of his chief duties is to criticize the way the Government spends the citizens' money and to suggest improvements. Of course, he also keeps the Government on its toes by continually trying to discover any mistakes that the Government has made in carrying out the laws made by the Assembly.

"There are some things the Assembly can't make laws about. The British North America Act, which created Canada in 1867, as you have read, tells just what a province can and cannot do. Mr. Eisenfeld compared our form of government to hockey, where a referee enforces the rules. In our country the referee who sees that a province

doesn't break the rules is the Dominion Parliament. It can refuse to allow a province to make a law which is against the British North America Act, but it hardly ever has to use its referee's powers."

After the speeches, Mr. Johnson called on the students' president, who moved a vote of thanks to the three candidates.

Provincial government in action. One of Miss Rogers' pupils asked her, in Question Period on Monday morning, exactly what jobs the provincial government did. Miss Rogers announced that the class would be given an answer to that question in the afternoon. One of her friends from the city was in Cedarville and would be coming to the school.

Miss Shapiro arrived a few minutes before four o'clock. Miss Rogers introduced her friend to the class.

"Johnny was asking this morning what the provincial government does. Miss Shapiro's own work is one answer to that question. She is employed by the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, which sends out all kinds of information useful to farmers and their wives. Representatives from the Service travel over the province to help Women's Institutes and other such groups in the valuable work of making better homes and finer communities.

"Miss Shapiro is going to tell you about other work that the provincial government does."

"Miss Rogers has been telling me," began Miss Shapiro, "that the three candidates told you how the government operates. So today I'm going to tell you what it does.

"Let's see how those things which the province does help you. First of all, the province decides what you will be taught in school. It pays part of the cost of the school; Cedarville pays the rest.

"Some of you will go on to university or normal school or nursing school. The government pays a big share of the cost of all these.

"We hope none of you get sick or injured, but if you did, you'd be taken to a hospital supported

partly by the province." A provincial problem: death on the highways. "When you travel to the city," Miss Shapiro went on, "you ride on a road built by the Department of Public Works of the province. If you're going too fast you may be stopped by a provincial policeman, who is responsible to the Attorney General's Department, to keep you from having an accident. If you were caught speeding too often, you might even end up in a provincial jail! Of course, I hope that wouldn't happen to any of you. We are all rapidly waking up to the terrible dangers on our highways. Did you know that more people were killed by autos on Canadian roads in 1941 than were killed on active service in the Canadian navy all during World War II!

"Our provincial government also takes care of our natural resources, and a very important job that is, too. We've been very careless sometimes in the past and we've damaged our forests, our soil, our ani-



Courtesy Ontario Provincial Police

PROTECTION FOR THE CITIZEN

A very small lost citizen is here seeking the protection of an Ontario provincial policeman.

mals, birds, and fish. If we value our country at all, we must be much more careful in future.

"Music, acting, and the other arts should make life more fun for all of us. The provincial government leaves most of that work to groups of private citizens, but it does help to support libraries and museums.

"There are many other things that I could tell you about the province's work—how it helps injured workmen, pays old age pensions, operates law courts, keeps records of births, marriages and death, helps cripples and handicapped people, and a long list more. But suppose we sum it all up by saying that hardly a day goes by that

every citizen isn't helped in some way by the work of the provincial government."

Johnny waved a paper at Uno Kask as they met on the street the day

after the election.

"I've just been to the station for Dad to get *The Herald* and *The Mail* from the morning train," said Johnny. "Look who won the elections!"

¹ For details, see the edition of your local newspaper after the last provincial elections.

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

You would object if somebody from another country made you stop playing baseball and forced you to play hop-scotch instead. You believe that you should be allowed to decide such matters for yourself.

However, you would not complain if the Canadian government decided that the air force should have another squadron on the Pacific coast, even though your parents, with all the other tax-

payers, would have to foot the bill for the R.C.A.F. planes.

The people of the Canadian provinces feel the way you do. They want to decide about their own local affairs, just as you like to decide what games you will play. Each province, by means of voting in the legislature, decides what it wants to do about its roads, schools, hospitals, and so on. But each province is quite willing to let the government at Ottawa decide about things which will affect all Canada, such as defence, railways, and customs duties.

It is not surprising, then, that the various provinces sometimes have different ideas about schools, taxes on property, etc. The people who were the first settlers in all our provinces, except Quebec, mostly came from Great Britain and they brought ideas about laws and education from their homeland. As a result, our provinces are alike in more ways than they are different.

Make it a project to find out all you can about your own province and its government. You might compare your province with another province of Canada to see in what ways they are different

and in what ways similar.

Try to find the following information about your own province:
(1) The name of the Premier; where he was born; what schools he attended; what his work was before he was elected; and any other interesting facts about him. (2) The name of your representative in the provincial legislature, and details about his life. (3) The party or parties which make up the Government, and the party or parties in the Opposition. (4) The number of members in the legislature, and the number belonging to each party. (5) How the province is divided up for provincial elections. (6) The new roads,

railways, dams, hydro-electric plants, and electricity transmission lines being built in the province. (7) How much of the province's money is spent on the various tasks such as education, highways, etc. (Compare these expenditures with the graph for the Dominion on page 348.) (8) Where the province's money comes from. (9) What the provincial government is doing to conserve your natural resources of forests, fish, game, soils.

You and your teacher may be able to suggest other things to

find out about your province.

Some of the information you find could be made into graphs, such as those on page 348. Other information could be put on posters and maps or presented to the class in speeches or written reports.

Starting Points for Class Discussion

- I. Is it a good thing for our country that some people want to make changes quickly, some want to make changes slowly, and others want to make no changes at all? Would it be better if everybody agreed on every subject, instead of having different ideas? If you belong to a sports or social club, use examples from how the club is run in your discussion.
- 2. If a boy, A, told you that another boy, B, was mean and dishonest, would you believe it immediately? What else might you do before forming an opinion about B? Would you believe it immediately if you read in a newspaper that a politician, Mr. X, was trying to fool the electors and was not doing his job properly? What else would you do before forming an opinion about Mr. X?
- 3. If your class wanted to raise some money for a project, would it be better for the president of the class to decide how the money should be raised, or for the class to decide by talking about it and voting? What reasons have you for your opinion? Which system would be faster?
- 4. Do you think it would be better to have only one big student's council in a large school to decide everything for all the classes, or to have a school council and also class executives?
- 5. Suppose you could choose between the following policies: (a) to have much better houses and food and clothes during your lifetime by using up all the forests and soil as fast as possible, so that, in the year 2050 A.D., the people of Canada would not have enough; or (b) to have ordinary houses and food and clothes and to leave the forests and farms in good condition for the Canadians of 2050 A.D. Which policy would you choose? Why?

Chapter 3-Do We Work Well with Neighbours in Other Provinces?

Canada is a miniature United Nations. Who were the great-great-grandfathers of the Canadians of today?

They were men from the pleasant valleys of England, the beautiful plains of France, the rugged Highlands of Scotland, the green fields of Ireland, the snowy mountains of Scandinavia; from the farms and cities of Germany, Poland, Hungary and Russia; from the sunny shores of the Mediterranean, from the rice fields of China. They came to our country for many reasons: to seek for adventure, for wealth, for freedom from unjust governors, freedom from religious tyranny, freedom from hunger, freedom from endless warfare.

They brought with them many languages, many customs, many songs. In spite of their differences, they worked together to build up a new nation.

We, their descendants, have the blood of many races flowing in our veins. Twenty-seven countries have each contributed more than 20,000 citizens to Canada. A score of other races are represented by smaller numbers in our Dominion.

Canada is a union of races from all over the globe. It is a United Nations on a small scale.

We have done well in making a success of our own little United Nations since the time of our great-great-grandfathers. There is no magic or secret about the way in

which we have accomplished the task. The methods used were simple. They were a willingness to cooperate with others different from ourselves, to give everyone a square deal, and to obey the rules of democracy.

Canadians have also been fortunate in many ways. Our country has proved to have vast natural sources of wealth; three oceans have protected us from the wars that have devastated the nations of other continents; from Britain we have inherited good systems of government and justice. If we continue to improve our miniature United Nations, we shall be able to give good proof that the big United Nations can succeed in freeing people from war and hunger. with all our advantages, we fail, there is little hope for a happy and peaceful world.

The pattern of Canada. The four-teen million people who make up the Canadian nation live in a narrow band of territory, about 300 miles in width, stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific. To the south is the United States; to the north vast empty spaces. The narrow lane between is sparsely populated in many parts, for, as we read in the story of Canada, the towns and cities of our country are spread out like an irregular string of beads on the steel threads of our transcontinental railways.

Canada, as we have seen, has

SPECIMEN FORM 4-4-4-1M

in the town^(a) of

The Dominion Elections Act, 1938

PROCLAMATIO

| Electoral Distr | ict of | To | wit: |
|------------------------|--------|----|-------|
| Province of | | 10 | AATC: |

Pursuant to His Majesty's writ bearing date the day of . 19 I am commanded to cause an election to be held according to law of a member to serve in the House of Commons of Canada for the above mentioned electoral district, and I accordingly give public notice:

election and shall attend specially to receive such nominations at

day of

AND THAT in case a poll is held, I shall at

THAT I am now prepared to receive nominations of candidates at such

, on the

from noon until two o'clock in the afternoon (Standard time), after which said

last mentioned hour no further nominations of candidates will be received. AND THAT in case a poll is demanded and granted in the manner by law 19 prescribed, such poll will be held on the" day of between the hours of eight o'clock in the forenoon and six o'clock in the afternoon (Standard time), at places of which I shall subsequently give notice.

(Standard time), on the standard town), on the standard town of the town of

(2) Or city or village.

Describe the place at which be glace will be glace with the glace will be glace will be glace with the glace will be glace will be glace with the glace will be glace with the glace will be glace at which will be glace will be glace with the glace will be glace at which will be glace with the glace will be glace with th AND THAT " the territory comprised in the city (or town, or as the case may be) of will be urban polling divisions for which the lists of electors will be prepared and revised under the rules set forth in Schedule A to section seventeen of The Dominion Elections Act, 1938, and that the territory comprised in the remainder of the electoral district will be rural

polling divisions for which the lists of electors will be prepared and revised under the rules set forth in Schedule B to the said section seventeen. AND THAT I have established my office for the conduct of the above mentioned election at"

Of which all persons are hereby required to take notice and to govern themselves accordingly.

Given under my hand at

, this

day of

day of

o'clock in the

19

, open the ballot boxes, add up the votes reported in the

, at

, 19

19

Returning Officer

NOTICE

Interference With Election Documents

Subsection one of section seventy-two of The Dominion Elections Act, 1938, reads as follows:

72. (1) Any person unlawfully taking down, covering up, mutilating, defacing or altering any printed or written proclamation, notice, list of electors, or other document, authorized or required by this Act to be posted up, is guilty of an indictable offence against this Act and liable on indictance or on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and costs of prosecution, or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years with or without hard labour, or to both such fine and costs and such imprisonment, and if the fine and costs imposed are not paid forthwith (in case only a fine and costs are imposed) or are not paid before the expiration of the term of imprisonment imposed (in case imprisonment, as well as fine and costs, is imposed), to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for such term, or further term, as such fine and costs or either of them remain unpaid, not exceeding three months.

and published by the above named Returning Officer.

Department of the Secretary of State

THE FIRST SIGNS

When posters like this begin to appear in the public places of our communities they are the first evidence that a Dominion election is under way. What is the title of the official who signs this document? Why is he called this? By whom is he appointed? Who assist him? What are his duties? What friends of the candidates are permitted to be present when this official is performing his duties?

been greatly influenced by her great neighbour, the United States. We have been influenced even more by Britain and her way of governing herself. The customs and ideas of France have also been important to us.

But Canada is not just a pale imitation of some other nation. Her people have worked together to solve the new problems of a new country. Gradually a Canadian pattern has been formed which differs in some degree from the patterns of Britain, France, or the United States.

Because of our races, because of our geography, we have used the older ideas in new ways, to build a nation and to govern it. Our work is not completed. Problems remain to be solved in the years to come. One problem facing the boys and girls now growing up is to decide what new tasks each of our governments, Dominion, provincial, and municipal, should do for us.

The Canadian pattern has changed greatly since our ancestors set foot in North America. It will probably continue to change in the lifetime of today's students. The need for co-operating with our neighbours in all parts of Canada will be as great as it has ever been.

All eyes on Ottawa! Because many parts of Canada are so distant from the capital, some citizens are apt to believe that what happens in Ottawa does not concern them. They are wrong; it concerns them very vitally.

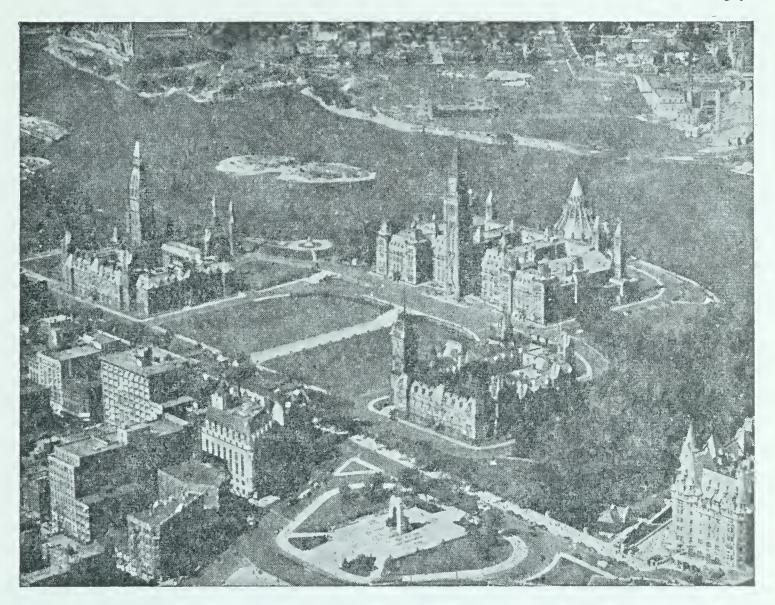
Let us take two examples from our imaginary town of Cedarville. These incidents might have happened anywhere in Canada.

A boy had been saving his money to buy a bicycle the price of which was fifty-five dollars. One day he went to the store with the complete sum. "You're lucky," said the merchant, "the British bicycle you want is now only forty-seven dollars." The boy was astonished. "How did that happen?" he enquired. "It's because of some doings in London and Ottawa," was the answer, "a new exchange rate, they call it."

Another boy in Cedarville went home one day to find his mother very excited. "We're moving away," she told him. "Your Dad has a new job at a gold mine in the north." The boy whistled in surprise. "At a gold mine!" he exclaimed. "Yes," his mother went on, "because the government at Ottawa changed the tax on gold mining companies, a new mine has opened up and so we're moving to a new home."

Such incidents could be multiplied a thousand-fold. Citizens all over Canada are affected by the decisions of our government at Ottawa. To do its business the Canadian government employs tens of thousands of citizens, and spends about two billion dollars a year. The idea behind its activities is exactly the same as the idea behind all the activities of thousands of municipalities and the ten provinces: to get the work done that the citizens wish to have done.

In this third chapter we shall look at the way the government of Canada works and compare it with the town and provincial govern-



THE HEART OF CANADA

Here is the seat of the government of our country. In what city is it? What city lies across the river? Your teacher can tell you the name of the great tower which rises in front of the central building. What Chambers are in this central building? Find out where the East Block is, and what important office is located there.

ments that we have already examined.

Spotlight on the Dominion government. During a Question Period shortly after the provincial election, Johnny Danski asked Miss Rogers: "What differences are there between our provincial government and the Dominion government?"

"You've caught a whopping big question with that cast," replied the teacher, knowing that Johnny would understand fisherman's talk. "I've been planning a project for the whole class to work on. The title of the project is 'Our Government at Ottawa.' We shall start on it tomorrow. I'm sure you'll find the answer to your question, Johnny, as we gather information about the governing of the Canadian nation."

Next day, the class divided into groups, each made up of three or four pupils. The members of each group elected a chairman and a secretary. Miss Rogers explained that the committees were to study one question each about the government of Canada. When a group had collected, organized, and written down all the information it could find on the subject it was investigating, the members would

make a report to the class, giving the answer the group had worked out for its question.

Miss Rogers wrote on the blackboard the list of questions that she had prepared, explaining briefly what each one meant. Then the questions were allotted among the committees. One group volunteered to make a large map of Canada on the table at the side of the room, using plaster of Paris and showing the main mountains, rivers and lakes. Others arranged to place information on the map to illustrate their reports.

Some time later, when the committees had completed their work, Miss Rogers announced, "Today we shall hear some of the reports. First, David will tell us the answer that his group has worked out to the question, How does the Dominion government operate?"

Blueprint of our Parliament. David's father was the town engineer of Cedarville. David himself intended to be an engineer. Therefore, the class was not surprised at the way he began his report, which he read from his notebook.

"When I told Dad that our group was going to make this report, he said, 'Give the class the important details first.' So that's what I'm going to do. I'll begin by telling you what the different parts of our Dominion government are and how they're made. Then Betty will tell you how the parts work together to make a machine for governing Canada.

"One of the candidates who spoke to us during the provincial election told us that the Assembly

is the most important part of the government of a province. The House of Commons is the Assembly for the whole of Canada, and it is the most important part of the government at Ottawa. There are 262 members of the House of Commons. Their homes are in all parts of Canada, from the Yukon to Newfoundland, as you can see on the map at the side of the room."

All eyes turned to the map. With plaster of Paris and paint, one group of pupils had produced an excellent map showing relief; that is, the Rocky Mountains and other high places had been built up with several inches of plaster to make a model of Canada. The map was tilted on its table so that it could

easily be seen.

"Look at the pins with red tops," David continued. "We have put one pin on the map for each five members of the House of Commons. For example, here are four red pins in British Columbia, one in Vancouver, and three in other parts of the province. That means British Columbia elects twenty Members of Parliament, or M.P's, as they are usually called. Actually, the number is eighteen, as you can see on the poster that we have made to show the numbers of Members of Parliament for each province.

"These pins serve also to indicate how many people live in each part of the country, because each Member of Parliament represents approximately 45,000 people.

"The number of Members of Parliament for each province is decided in this way," said David, pointing to the blackboard, where before his talk he had written this table:

Total number of M.P's Yukon always has Prince Edward Island always has The other nine provinces have Total population of other nine 11,716,485 provinces (1941) Divided by 257 (the number of M.P's) 45,582 Each M.P. should represent 45,582 people Number of people in British Columbia (1941) 817,861 Divided by 45,582 is 18

"Therefore," continued David, after reading the information from the blackboard, "British Columbia has eighteen representatives in the House of Commons at Ottawa. The number of Members of Parliament for each of the other provinces is worked out in the same way, except for Prince Edward Island which

always has four.

"Next to the House of Commons in importance is the Cabinet. It is made up of about twenty men. The chief man is called the Prime Minister, or first Minister, and the others are all called Ministers. All these men have to be Members of Parliament, usually from the House of Commons, but sometimes a senator can be a Minister. The leader of the party with the most members in the House of Commons becomes Prime Minister. He chooses the Ministers from among his followers.

"The Senate is another part of the government at Ottawa. There are one hundred and two senators," (David pointed to another poster) "twenty-four from each of Ontario and Quebec; ten from each of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, six from each of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Newfoundland; four from Prince Edward Island. These men are not elected by the people. They are appointed by the government for life.

"The Governor-General lives at Ottawa and represents Queen Elizabeth II in Canada, because the Queen's home is in England. The Queen appoints the Governor-General, but she always asks the advice of the Canadian government before making an appointment.

"These three parts—House of Commons, Senate, and Governor-General—make up what is called Parliament.

"The large group of people who work full-time for the government—clerks, stenographers, inspectors, postmen, chemists, and dozens of others—is called the Civil Service."

Fitting the Parliamentary parts together. Here David took his seat and Betty came forward to continue.

"Now I shall try to tell you how these parts work together to govern Canada. Imagine that an election has just been held. The Governor-General sends for the leader of the party with the largest number of men and women elected and tells him to take charge of the government. The winning party might be Liberal, Progressive-Conservative, C.C.F., or Social Credit.

"This leader—he is now the



Copyright by Karsh

THE FIRST MINISTER

This is the Rt. Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada. When did he become Prime Minister? What party does he lead? Who is the Leader of the Opposition?

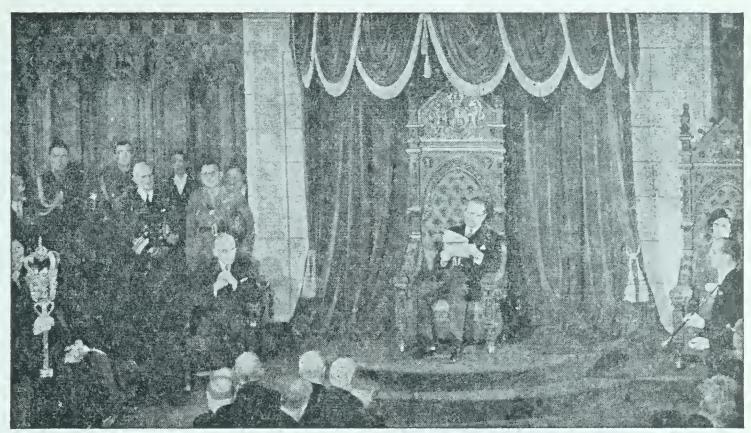
Prime Minister—makes up his Cabinet. He gives each Minister one or two Departments to look after. The Departments concern themselves with External Affairs, Fisheries, Labour, Justice, Mines and Resources, Defence, Agriculture, Finance, and so on. The Cabinet decides when all the Members of Parliament and senators will be called to Ottawa for a meeting of Parliament. A meeting must be held at least once a year. The meeting, or session, usually lasts three or four months. The Governor-General starts the session by reading the Speech from the Throne. He says, 'My government, my ministers, my navy'! But actually the speech is written by the Cabinet and it tells what the government is going to do.

"Suppose the Cabinet decides that a new highway should be built across Canada. If any Minister disagrees, he can argue about it in the Cabinet meeting. But if the majority of the Ministers still wants to build the road, the other Minister must agree or resign. If the Prime Minister wishes, he can dismiss the Minister from the Cabinet.

"Then the government gets together all the facts and figures about the road. One of the Ministers presents a Bill to the M.P's in the House of Commons. This isn't like a grocery bill. A Bill is a printed paper telling how the government is going to build the road.

"The M.P's talk it over. Then they vote on it. If the Bill passes, it is sent to the Senate. The senators talk it over, too, but they hardly ever turn down any Bill from the Commons. Then the Governor-General signs it. It is now called an Act. It must be obeyed and the road must be built.

"The House of Commons rarely votes down a Bill presented by a Minister. This is only natural because the main party in the House is led by the Prime Minister. He is careful not to ask the House for things his party wouldn't like. But the House could vote against him. Then, if the vote was on a matter of the policy of his government, he has to resign. If the Governor-General can't find another man who can get the House to vote for his programme, a general election is held all over the country.



Office of the Secretary of State

THE SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

As a project you might study this picture of the opening of Parliament and report on it. Some of the things you might mention: the name of the man who is reading the speech; when he was appointed and by whom; who sits to his right; to his left; who the seven men are whose heads you see in the foreground; what their seat is called.

"Canadians seem to be satisfied with this way of governing themselves. It enables them to decide what the majority wants to do and allows them to carry out the wishes of the majority."

"Who is there?" "Black Rod." Miss Rogers announced that Jimmy would give the report his group had prepared. Their question had been: What is the meaning behind certain Parliamentary customs?

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. Black Rod may sound like the name of a villain in a radio mystery play," said Jimmy, "but I can tell you he's not at all like the Green Hornet or the Purple Phantom! He is a very dignified official of the Senate. His full title is Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. When Parliament opens, he goes

from the Senate to the House of Commons. At the Commons chamber, the door is shut right in his face! He knocks three times. From inside comes a voice, 'Who is there?' 'Black Rod,' he answers. The door is then opened to allow him to announce that all the Members are to come to the Senate. They follow Black Rod to the Senate Chamber to hear the Speech from the Throne.

"You might ask, 'Isn't that a foolish waste of time? Why don't they just telephone to the Commons?' But there's a reason for the ceremony. Charles I, you remember from the history of the British people, tried to dictate to the House of Commons. He came to the House himself once and tried to arrest five M.P's who opposed him. Ever since then, neither the king nor his representative, nor



Office of the Secretary of State

THE PROCESSION TO THE SENATE

Black Rod is in the lead in this procession. In the archway is the Sergeant-at-Arms carrying the mace, and behind him comes the Speaker of the House of Commons.

anyone else, for that matter, can interfere with the House of Commons. Shutting the door in Black Rod's face is a reminder that the House of Commons does not take orders from anyone.

"If you sat in the Visitors Gallery of the House of Commons, you would notice that each M.P. as he entered or left the Chamber, bowed to the Speaker. This also, you might think, is a waste of time, to bow dozens of times a month. But there is a reason. The bowing is done to remind all M.P's that the Speaker, who acts as chairman of the meetings, must be obeyed. In all their actions in the House the Members must follow rules of parliamentary procedure, and the Speaker is the living symbol of these rules.

"Another thing that reminds Members of the Speaker's power is the mace. This is a big metal club. In the old days, warriors used maces to smash in the steel helmets and coats worn by their foes. Nowadays, the Sergeant-at-Arms keeps the mace in full view on a table in the centre of the House. He never hits anybody with it, of course. But it reminds everyone that the Speaker's word is law, unless the House itself votes against him. The mace precedes the Speaker in and out of the House. No session of the House is legal unless the mace remains on the table in the Chamber. You will remember that when the English dictator, Cromwell, dismissed Parliament, he pointed at the mace and said, 'Take away that bauble."

Tasks for the federal government. "Our next question," Miss Rogers announced, "is: What does the Dominion government do? Marlene will give us the information that her group has collected."

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. At first, we were quite confused by all the names used for the government, central government, national government, Dominion government, or just plain Ottawa. With Miss Rogers' help we found out that all these mean the same thing. We decided to use federal because we think the word gives a hint about the *kind* of government that we have in Canada.

"When they began to build a government for Canada our great-grandfathers had two models to choose from. Britain had a Parliament which made the laws for all of the British Isles. The Americans had a different system, a federation. Each state had a government of its own. But over all of the states there was one big government which made laws for all Americans. That's why Americans called their nation the United States of America.

"Canada has taken something from each model. From the British people we have borrowed our ideas for a Dominion Parliament. However, the Dominion Parliament hasn't all the power. It does certain tasks. The provinces, like the states in the United States, do some others. In the British North America Act rules are laid down to show which tasks belong to the Dominion Parliament and which to the provincial Assemblies.

"Our federal government at Ottawa does some very important business for us. It must arrange for the defence of our country. For this reason, we have an army, a navy, and an air force, as you all know.

"Just as we need protection from

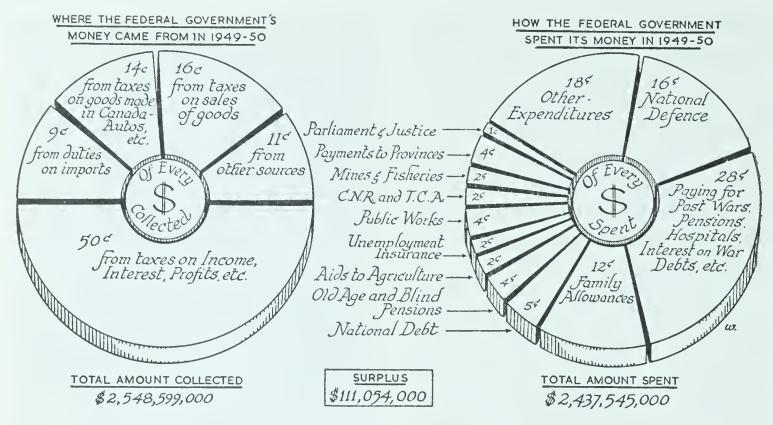
enemies outside our country, we need protection from criminals in Canada. The federal government makes all the laws about crime. It has the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to make sure that its laws are obeyed. Like Cedarville, many towns, most cities, and some provinces also have their own policemen.

"There are many other ways in which the federal government gives us service. Money is very useful, we all know that! It is made at Ottawa. The Post Office is run by the federal government. It carries your letters and parcels quickly and safely. Whenever you buy or sell anything, you are protected by laws made at Ottawa. All the rules about harbours, lighthouses, and navigation are part of the federal government's business.

"I could go on to tell you dozens of other tasks our national government does for us, but I have already told you the most important of them.

"There are two other things I should mention before I finish. First, the federal government has greater power than the provincial governments because it can prevent an Act of any provincial Assembly from becoming law, although it rarely does. Second, our government at Ottawa has very much more power than the provinces whenever there is a great emergency, such as a war."

Canada's dollars and common sense. Carl was always at the head of the class in mathematics. With three other pupils, also good at figures, he had prepared an answer to the



THE NATION'S DOLLAR

People sometimes talk of the government and of things that it should do as though it was possessed of almost inexhaustible funds of money. It is important for us to know that all the government's funds come from the taxpayer in one form or another, and when we talk of the government's money we mean our own money.

question: How does the Dominion government get the money to do its business? Miss Rogers now called on Carl to give a report of his group's findings.

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. There's an old saying that runs, 'Nothing's certain but death and taxes.' That shows how some people feel about taxes. But, of course, we couldn't have any government at all without taxes of some kind, so we are quite certain that we'll always have them.

"Politicians have sometimes been elected by promising to give more government service and to cut down taxes at the same time. Think about that for a minute. It's not likely that anyone can collect less in taxes and still give the people better government services, unless the previous government has been wasting money hand over fist, as

happens occasionally. But usually, better service means higher taxes.

"There are two kinds of taxes, direct and indirect. I can tell you the difference by using an example from our own school. Suppose the class decides to collect money during the year to buy some pictures to brighten up our walls. The class officers might suggest direct taxation. It would work like this: If you have an allowance of less than 20c a week, then you pay nothing to the class fund; if you receive 20c, you pay 2c per week; if you receive 25c, you pay 4c; if you receive 30c, you pay 7c; if you receive 35c, you pay 11c; and if you receive \$1.00, you pay 48c.

The government uses a system like that, called income tax. It is an example of a direct tax. The usual rule is, the more money you receive, the higher percentage you

pay in tax. Our Canadian government gets about half of all its money in that way. The provinces can also collect direct taxes, but most of them leave all the income tax for the Dominion to collect. Then they receive an agreed-upon share of the money from Ottawa.

"A direct tax is fair, because it is a light load on the poor, a heavier load on the rich. But, as you can imagine, it is sometimes hard to collect. Unfortunately, there are a few bad citizens who tell lies about how much money they receive. Usually the government catches them. Then they really have to dig deeply into their pock-

ets to pay their fines!

"Suppose that the class was making school crests and selling them to the rest of the school at a price of 25c. The officers might decide, with the approval of the class, to raise the price to 35c and take the extra 10c for the class funds. That would be an indirect tax. Everybody who buys a crest would pay, whether he was rich or poor. Both federal and provincial governments use such a sales tax. The Dominion obtains about 15% of its money in that way.

"It also gets about 10% of its money by excise taxes which are taxes on certain things produced in our own country. They are something like sales taxes. If we had an excise tax in our class it would have to be paid on each crest as soon as it was made. Of course, we would add the tax to the price

when we sold the crest.

"The Dominion gets about 15% of its funds from customs duties. These are paid on things coming into Canada, such as cars from the United States, perfume from France, and so on.

"The average Canadian really does a lot for himself by means of government. You will realize this better when I tell you that Parliament at Ottawa collects and spends

about \$175. a year for every man, woman, and child in our country."

"To no one will we sell . . . justice." When Miss Rogers announced in class the next day that the remaining reports would be given, Joan McTavish spoke first. Whenever Joan was asked what she was going to be, she replied, "A lawyer's stenographer, or maybe even a lawyer." She was in a group which had been studying the question, How is justice obtained in Canada?

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. 'Ordeal' is a word meaning a long and painful experience. For example, you might say that five difficult examinations in a row was an ordeal! But the word is an old English one meaning 'a judgment.' In England long, long ago, a man suspected of a crime might have a trial by ordeal. There were several ways of carrying out such a trial. For example, the suspect might be tied up and thrown into a pond. If he sank, he was said to be innocent. That was fine for him if he didn't drown! If he floated, he was guilty and was punished.

"Slowly, people began to see that such a trial was not at all fair. So the splendid system of law that we have today was gradually built up to give us proper judgments and not the judgment by luck of an ordeal.

"We have read in the story of Britain about the famous Magna Carta that King John signed. One of its best statements is: 'To no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice.'

"Today we have many rules that we follow to make sure that everyone receives equal justice under our laws. Here are some of these rules. Don't you agree that they are all very fair?

Every man is innocent until he is proved guilty.

"This means that some guilty men may go free because they can't be proved guilty. But we believe that this is better than hastily punishing some innocent man, as we should probably do if he had to prove himself innocent.

No man can be tried twice for the same offence.

"Otherwise a man who had been found innocent would always worry in case he might be arrested again at any time.

Everyone is equal before the law.

"No matter whether you are a millionaire or a poor man, president of a company, or an office boy, you have the same rights in the courts of justice.

All courts of justice are open to the public.

"If a judge were allowed to have trials in secret, he might be tempted to deal gently with people he liked and harshly with those he disliked.

No one can take the law into his own hands.

"We usually think that we are right and other people are wrong. Later, we often find that we weren't right after all. If a person could enforce the law himself, he would be sure to make many mistakes that would be unfair to his neighbours.

Hearsay evidence will not be received.

"In a law court, you must only tell what you know yourself to be true, because you saw it happen. You can't tell what other people have told you, because that is hearsay and you don't know whether it's true or not."

Judges and juries. Louise gave the second part of the report on justice.

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. In Canada, we have inherited many of our laws from Britain. But nowadays, our own Parliament at Ottawa makes all our laws about crimes. There is the same law for murder and theft all over Canada.

"The civil laws are mostly made by the provincial legislatures. These are laws about owning land, driving cars, hunting wild animals, and so on. Naturally, there are quite a few differences among the laws of the different provinces. The speed limit on British Columbia highways may not be the same as on Manitoba's. Quebec's civil laws are quite different from those of the other provinces, because they are founded on the laws of France, not Britain.

"Cedarville can make its own laws, called by-laws. For example, our council decides the rules about the parking of cars and the building of houses.



Office of the Secretary of State

A New Canadian Becomes a Citizen

The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada administers the Oath of Allegiance to a new citizen. What is the name of the Chief Justice? How many members of the Supreme Court are there? What are the principal duties of the judges of the Supreme Court? What new duty was added in 1949?

"There are many different kinds of law courts in Canada. Some are set up by the federal government, others by the provinces. But the judges are all appointed by the Dominion government. Once a man becomes a judge, he holds office until he is about seventy-five years old, unless he is proved to be dishonest or to be making untrue statements. Men called magistrates are appointed by the provinces. They are in charge of courts where a person is taken for a small offence, such as parking a car in the wrong place, or not paying for a window he has broken.

"Judges sometimes hear all the evidence in law cases, and decide for themselves who is innocent and who is guilty. Sometimes they are helped by a jury. The number of men and women on a jury is usually twelve. They are not trained in law, but are people chosen from the general population. They have to listen to the evidence in a case and decide whether a man is innocent or guilty. There is a new jury for each case.

"If any of you go to see a trial in a law court, you will realize that there are many things that I haven't told you. A trial is a very complicated business. But in our country all trials follow the rules that Joan has told you about. We can be proud and grateful that in no other country in the world would we be treated more fairly than in courts of laws in Canada and other countries of the British Common-

wealth which work under the rules

of British justice."

How we say "stop!" to our government. "Herman, your group was investigating the question, What are a citizen's rights? Would you please give us your report now?"

said Miss Rogers.

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. Over a century ago, the wife of the English poet, Shelley, wrote a story called "Frankenstein," about a horrible monster. This creature had not been born, it had been made by a scientist named Frankenstein. It began to kill people. Before it was destroyed, the monster caused a great deal of pain and terror.

"Sometimes in the past, and even today, in some parts of the world, governments have been like Frankenstein's monster. Men have made the governments. Then the governments have turned on the men like savage monsters, killing and wounding.

"We have been hearing reports about what our government does. Our group has been finding out what the government *cannot* do. It is just as important to know where the government's power *stops* as it is to know what the govern-

ment should do for us.

"Let's imagine that Johnny Danski has been arrested. He is very angry. He says, 'I haven't done anything wrong!' But the policeman takes him to jail. Nobody tells Johnny why he's been arrested. He just sits there behind the bars. He thinks to himself, 'What shall I do? I might be locked

up for years and never even know

why I'm here.'

"Well, there is something Johnny can do. He can say to the jailer, 'I demand a writ of habeas corpus.' You may think that sounds like hocus-pocus. But let me explain.

"A writ is an order in writing. 'Habeas corpus' is a Latin phrase. It means 'You may have the body.' When Johnny demands this writ, a judge must give an order to the jailer to take the body (in this case, Johnny's body) into court. If the judge refuses, he will himself be punished. So Johnny must be taken into public court and told why he has been arrested. Then he has a chance to defend himself.

"Of course, if this really happened to any of us, we would have a lawyer get the writ of habeas corpus for us. Everyone who is arrested has the right to be helped

by a lawyer.

"Men and women in all countries with British laws have had this freedom from false arrest for almost three hundred years. They have also had many other freedoms. These are sometimes all grouped together and called the traditional rights of Englishmen. The United States also has these rights of Englishmen, although that country is not part of the British Commonwealth. Strangely enough, the United States was founded by Englishmen fighting for these traditional rights. Unfortunately, the King and some other men in England forgot for a while that all British people, not only those at home, should have the rights of Englishmen."

The true north strong and free. Donald, another member of Herman's group, gave the second part of the

report.

"Madam Chairman, fellow students. William Prynne had his ears cut off and his cheeks branded with a hot iron. He was put in prison and was fined five thousand pounds (about \$25,000). What had he done to deserve all this? He had written a book which the King didn't like. That was over three hundred years ago.

"Nowadays, such a thing could not happen in democratic countries. For we have freedom of speech and freedom of the press. As long as we don't say anything untrue to damage someone's reputation, we can say what we please in public or in private. As long as we don't tell people to use weapons against the elected leaders, we can criticize the government as harshly as we wish.

"We have freedom of assembly. That means we can get together to talk things over whenever we

please.

"We have freedom of movement about our own country. We have freedom to work wherever we wish. We can work at any job for which we are able to prepare ourselves.

"We have freedom of worship. No one can tell us what church we must attend or what we must believe.

"All of these freedoms are really based on the simple rule, Do unto others as you would have them do unto you. As long as we follow that rule, we can't go far wrong.

"Lastly, we have the very important freedom to vote. It is



Department of the Postmaster-General

The Postman on his Rounds

The familiar figure of the postman may remind us of the many ways that the governments of Canada affect our lives every day.

among the most important, because it is the main way to make sure that we keep all the other freedoms. We should vote only for men and women who will help keep our rights. Then the government will always know what it may not do. If we always hold on to our freedom to vote we may be sure that no group in our country can take away any rights from another group."

Duty balances the scales. On behalf of the class, Miss Rogers thanked all the students who had given reports. To complete the work on the project about the Canadian government, Miss Rogers, the following day, gave a report on a question suggested by one of the pupils, How

does a good citizen act?

"You have probably all heard the story of the Dutch boy who put his thumb in the hole in the dyke to keep out the sea water until men could come to make repairs. If he had not acted in this way the hole would have become bigger and bigger. Then the dyke would have broken and the sea would have flooded thousands of Dutch farms.

"The little Dutch boy is always considered an excellent example of a good citizen. He could have gone home, saying, 'Oh, it's only a little hole,' or 'It's too cold to stay here for long.' Instead, he did what he had to do if the farmlands were to

be saved.

"Not many of us will ever have a chance to be great heroes or to save our country by brave deeds. We should always be ready to do our duty, regardless of danger, when an emergency arises. But most of us will have to do our duty in simpler ways.

"Herman and Donald told us about the rights of Englishmen and all the freedoms that we have in our country. These are good things to have. But in order to keep them, we must all work hard to do our

duty.

"We can think of a citizen's life as a set of scales. On one side, he receives many freedoms more valu-

able than gold. To balance the scales, he must give much service to his country. If citizens take all the freedoms but do not give service, then they will probably lose their freedoms. That has happened in many countries many times in history. Then men had to fight and die to try to win back what they had lost."

Seven signs of a successful citizen. "What are the duties of a good citizen?" Miss Rogers continued.

"First, he must always use his ballot.

"Second, he must keep up to date about what his governments are doing, so that he can vote wisely.

"Third, he must demand that all other Canadian citizens have the same rights and freedoms that he himself has.

"Fourth, he must obey the laws. He may not agree with the law, but he must still obey it. If he is convinced that the law is unjust, he should try to persuade all his neighbours that it ought to be changed.

"Fifth, he must be willing to

fight to defend his country.

"Sixth, he must conserve our natural resources, by taking care to prevent forest fires, and by guarding our soils and wildlife.

"Seventh, he must develop all his

talents as much as he can.

"When a person from a foreign land has lived in Canada for five years, he can be naturalized, that is, become a Canadian. In the final ceremony, he takes this Oath of Allegiance:

I, (saying his name) swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her

Majesty, Queen Elizabeth the Second, her Heirs and Successors, according to law, and that I will faithfully observe the laws of Canada, and fulfil my duties as a Canadian citizen. So help me God.'

"Those of us who are born in

Canada do not have to take the Oath of Allegiance. But we should always remember it, so that, at the end of our lives, we can say we have never failed in our allegiance to Canada."

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

If you go to the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa when the House of Commons is meeting, you will hear speeches given in both the French and the English languages. That is an example of how we Canadians try to solve our problems by what is called compromise. A compromise is reached when each side in an argument gives up something in order to reach an agreement satisfactory to both.

In your school, some students might wish to use the school rink for hockey all the time; others might wish to use it all the time for fancy skating. If the students agreed to divide the time between

the two sports, that would be a compromise.

The mother tongue of more than one-quarter of all Canadians is French. It would be unfair to make French-speaking Canadians speak English all the time in Parliament. It would be equally unfair to those who speak only English to make French the only language in Parliament. The problem is solved by allowing both languages to be used in the debates in the House of Commons and by having all official documents published in the two languages.

The next time you have to decide some matters in your class, you might organize a Mock Parliament. The members of the class could divide up into parties and elect leaders. Then you could have a meeting and use parliamentary procedure to decide what your

class will do.

Remember that the majority has its way on any question. However, it is important that the majority should not be a steam roller—that is, ride roughshod over the opposition, without paying any attention to the minority's ideas. Try to reach a compromise so that

everyone will be satisfied, not just the majority.

You should also get all the information you can about the Prime Minister of Canada. What is his name? Where was he born? What schools did he attend? What work did he do before his election? Where does he live? What party does he lead? How long has he been leader of his party? Does he speak French or English or both languages? What recreations does he enjoy?

The Prime Minister usually chooses at least one Cabinet Minister from each province. Who is the member of the Cabinet from your

province? What job does he do in the Cabinet? Find out all you can about him.

The local newspaper office and your local library are good places to look when you are trying to find information about our

present government leaders.

Other persons you should know about are: the Member of Parliament who represents your constituency at Ottawa; the other candidates defeated by your M.P. at the last election; the present Speaker of the House of Commons; the Senators from your province; the Chief Justice of Canada.

How many candidates were there in your constituency in the last federal election? What party did each represent? How many people voted for each of the candidates in your constituency in the last election? How many people who were entitled to vote did not

use their ballots?

It may be possible for your teacher to arrange for your class, or some members of your class, to visit a court room while a case is being tried. Or, a lawyer might come to tell your class how a case is decided in court. Then you might have a Mock Trial in a Social Studies period, to decide some dispute or to try one of your classmates for an imaginary crime.

Canada has citizens whose parents come from dozens of different countries. If you have a Canada Year Book, look up the various countries which have contributed citizens to Canada and find out

in what numbers.

Read in *one* copy of your local paper lists of names, such as sports teams, local councils, executives of clubs, etc. With the help of your parents and your teacher, decide from what countries the ancestors of these people came. Find out how many countries are represented by at least one name in that copy of your paper.

Starting Points for Class Discussion

1. In the old days, when a new government was elected most of the government employees were discharged and new people employed in their places. Nowadays, government employees keep their jobs after the election no matter which party wins. What are the advantages of the present system over the old one?

2. When pupils in a school are having a meeting there is often trouble because several speakers try to make themselves heard at the same time. What should the chairman do in such a situation?

How does the House of Commons prevent such trouble?

3. Suppose two boys are running for president of your class. One boy promises to have more expensive parties and to have higher priced class crests. He also promises to cut down the class fee each

student has to pay. Would you vote for him on the strength of these promises? Candidates for public office sometimes make promises based on this same idea.

- 4. Look at the rules of law on page 350. Suppose one pupil, A, discovers that some of his books are missing. Before the other pupils on the playground, A accuses B of taking the books. What advantages would there be in following the rules of law to decide the case?
- 5. Talking things over is very necessary in a democracy. But often we waste time arguing about facts, when a look at a map, a newspaper or an encyclopedia would settle the argument very quickly. Can you think of some things it would be foolish to argue about? Can you think of some things it would be valuable to discuss?

Chapter 4 — Can We Work with Neighbours All Over the World?

"The Other Side of the Shield." If you will use your imaginations, we shall watch a short technicolour film. On the screen, we first see a large, golden shield with a lion carved on it. Then with the shield as a background, the title flashes on the screen, "The Other Side of the Shield."

Slowly the camera moves away, and we notice that the shield is hanging from a timber archway over a road. Riding towards us along the road is a knight in shining armour. On his helmet is a red plume.

The camera swings and we look in the other direction. Another knight is galloping towards us. He wears a black plume on his helmet and carries a lance.

There is a great clanging of armour and stamping of hooves as the two knights rein in their horses on opposite sides of the archway.

"A beautiful morning, is it not, friend?" says Red Plume.

"Aye, the sun shines brightly," replies Black Plume. "It makes this golden shield over the road very pretty indeed."

"Pretty, yes, but not golden; the shield is silver," states Red Plume.

"Ho! you must have a fine pair of eyes! I would not trust you with my gold and silver," laughs Black Plume.

"I say the shield is silver, and I have a stout lance here that agrees with me," the other knight shouts.

"No stouter than mine, which says the shield is gold," snaps Black Plume.

The two knights wheel their horses. Each goes back a short distance along the way he had come. Then they gallop furiously towards

each other, lances pointed ahead. There is a tremendous crash as they come together. Both topple from their horses.

A monk approaches on foot. He runs to each in turn, trying to tend their wounds.

"You spoil a lovely day with an evil quarrel, sirs," speaks the monk. "What was the cause of your fight-

ing?"

Red Plume answers, after groaning loudly, "Good monk, this other knight insulted me. He said yon shield is golden. I undertook to prove him wrong with my lance. Both of us are unhorsed and wounded, so we cannot tell who was right."

"Do you look at the shield, good man," says Black Plume to the monk, "and judge which of us has

the poor eyes."

The monk examines the shield from both sides. "If only you had paused to look before fighting," says the monk, "you would soon have seen that the shield is golden on one side and silver on the other. Now, why should you have quarrelled over such a trifle?"

Black Plume flushes and growls angrily, "This other knight is too proud to listen to anyone else but must challenge to combat at once."

"I am not the proud one. 'Tis you who started the quarrel," says

Red Plume indignantly.

"Methinks you are both proud and also foolish," states the monk. "You are quarrelling again about something as silly as the colour of the shield."

"Aye, perhaps the monk says true," states Black Plume after a moment's silence. "We have both been as proud as the lion on the shield."

"I agree with you this time," says Red Plume, "and having learned my lesson, I shall not argue about the lion, though I could have sworn the animal on the shield was a unicorn."

The monk laughs loudly, "You also need to look at both sides of the shield before you agree. 'Tis a lion on one side and a unicorn on the other, of course."

Do we need to draw a moral from this tale? Have you not yourselves heard people argue over ridiculous trifles, when a look at the facts would have settled the quarrel at once?

Yet, one of the most common faults in the world is to refuse to look at things from the other fellow's point of view. This fault causes trouble in our communities, in our country, and in the world at large. It has helped to cause quarrels between friends, and wars between nations.

We need to remember to look at the other side of the shield.

Mirrors around Canada's problems. When we do look at things from the other person's viewpoint, we are apt to be surprised. We often find that his problems are quite like our own.

Men in different parts of the world seem to be very different. Others may wear clothes we think are funny, and our clothes look strange to them. We have different words, different foods, different houses.

But these differences are mostly on the surface. Underneath, all men are very much alike. They want the same things—food, protection from the weather, defence against enemies, happiness.

Naturally, then, the problems of other races are often very similar to ours. When we look at our own problems, and then at the problems of other peoples, it is almost as if we were seeing reflections in a mirror.

When people all over the world learn to look at the problems of others as well as at their own, then we shall all become more neighbourly. With our modern planes that circle the globe in about three days, our world is becoming more and more like one community.

All the world's peoples are now so close to each other that it is easy to fight. But it is also easy to cooperate. Boys and girls growing up in Canada today, with other boys and girls now in schools all over the world, will have to help decide what we shall do in our world neighbourhood, whether we shall quarrel or co-operate.

Grand opening of the C.C.C. In the spring days, the Cedarville Community Centre had been built with surprising speed. The groups of citizens had worked with a will under the direction of skilled carpenters, plumbers, and electricians. What had been only a drawing displayed in the Post Office window in March, became a completed building by the end of June.

The grand opening of the community centre was held on Dominion Day, July 1st. People came



United Nations Photo

CANADA AT THE UNITED NATIONS

Mr. Lester B. Pearson, Canada's Minister for External Affairs, presides over a meeting of the Political and Security Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. An interesting project would be for a pupil to report on why Mr. Pearson is wearing earphones. These play a very important part in all the debates of the United Nations. What is the permanent home of the United Nations?

from miles around for the sports events in the afternoon. The new picnic tables in the park on the river bank were filled to capacity at suppertime.

In the evening, the new building was officially opened with colourful ceremonies.

On July 3rd, *The Cedarville Courier* published a special edition to celebrate the completion of the new community centre.

The report of the evening events was given under the following heading:

IMPRESSIVE CEREMONIES MARK OPENING OF C.C.C. HALL

On the evening of Dominion Day, C.C.C.-Day, as it was called in Cedarville this year, a capacity audience packed the new hall to witness the opening ceremonies.

"Cedarville and the Community of Nations" was the theme of the evening. Flags of all the United Nations made a colourful display around the hall and over the stage. Speeches by Professor J. A. Nixon from the provincial university, and Mrs. T. N. Klassen of the Red Cross stressed the idea of co-operation among all mations.

Mayor Carmichael and church leaders took part in the short service in which the

new building was dedicated.

Following the dedication, Mayor Carmichael announced that the school choir would lead in the singing of "O Canada" in both French and English. He reminded the audience that the music and the original words of our national song were written by French Canadians. The French words were given to the audience on sheets printed by the *Courier*.

The Community of Nations. Professor Nixon spoke on the topic, "Canada and the United Nations."

"You people of Cedarville have shown a fine community spirit," declared Professor Nixon. "This new centre is solid evidence of your co-operation. That kind of community spirit is one of the things most needed in our world today.

"The singing of our national anthem in both our official Canadian languages, led by your fine school choir, was a splendid idea for this occasion. Co-operation, like charity, begins at home. In our Canadian home, we have citizens of many races and we all must co-operate if our nation is to be happy and successful.

"In the world at large, the United

Nations organization is our community centre. Men of nearly all races and tongues have been meeting together since the United Nations organization was founded just after World War II. By discussing their problems, they find out the things that they agree about and the things that they disagree about.

"Sometimes, people in Canada say, 'What good does the United Nations do? Millions of words, but few actions that help the world!' It is exasperating at times, I admit. But if we can't get co-operation in the world by means of the United Nations, how can we get it? Cooperation can't be achieved overnight; we should be foolish to expect it. There is no royal road to learning and there is no royal road to world community. Those of you who have helped build this community centre will know that we can never accomplish anything worthwhile without a lot of trying and a lot of hard work.

"People sometimes say to me, 'But how can Canadian citizens be loyal to the United Nations and also be loyal to Canada?' You will know the answer to that question yourselves, for you are loyal to Cedarville, you are loyal to your province, and you are also loyal to Canada which is a collection of communities. In the same way, we can all be good Canadian patriots and still be citizens of a world which is a collection of national communities."

The Red Cross works for all peoples. "To those who ask if it's possible for nations to work together," said Mrs. Klassen in her address, "the



United Nations Photo

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

It is not yet a parliament of the world but the hopes of the peoples of the world for peace and security are centred on the United Nations organization. Canada's interest in the U.N. is a vital one.

Red Cross gives a hopeful answer. "For almost one hundred years, since 1863, the Red Cross flag has been flying wherever there have been wars or other disasters. Red Cross doctors, nurses, and other workers have helped all suffering human beings, friend or foe, black or white, Christian, or non-Christian.

"Almost all nations respect the Red Cross. Its workers can cross almost all national boundaries on their errands of mercy.

"During the second World War, thousands of our prisoners of war were aided and encouraged by the Red Cross. Some people in countries occupied by the enemy, such as Britain's Channel Islands off the coast of France, were kept from starvation by Red Cross parcels.

"We are dedicating our memorial park this afternoon to the men from Cedarville and district who fell in the two World Wars. They fought to save our country. We do them full honour as heroes. But never let us imagine that war is glorious. It causes terrible suffering and pain, to those who fight and to their parents, wives, and children who stay at home.

"It was the ghastly horror of war which caused the founding of the Red Cross. Jean Henri Dunant, of Geneva, Switzerland, was so horrified by the suffering of the wounded soldiers in European wars that he wrote a famous book about a battlefield. The people of Europe, most of whom had never seen the terrible sufferings caused by war, were shocked by Monsieur Dun-

ant's story. Almost immediately, the International Red Cross Society was formed to try to help the victims of wars and disasters.

"We all hope," concluded Mrs. Klassen, "that the United Nations organization will be able to keep peace in the world so that the Red Cross flag will no longer have to fly over ghastly scenes in the wake of battling armies."

Canadians all! A pageant by the young peoples' groups of all the churches of Cedarville and district concluded the evening's pro-

gramme.

Seven stirring scenes from Canada's history were portrayed in the

first part of the pageant.

Colourful costumes and lively dances from the four corners of the world were featured in the final act of the pageant. Eight of the nations from which Canada's citizens

have come were represented by groups of singers and dancers. Each group, dressed in the country's traditional costume, performed one of its national dances and sang the nation's anthem.

Mayor Carmichael thanked all those whose work and talents had made the evening such a great success. Before the singing of "God Save the Queen," Mayor Carmichael drew the audience's attention to the new third verse.

All verses of the anthem were then sung, including the new verse, written since the founding of the United Nations. Its words are:

Nor on this land alone—But be God's mercies known From shore to shore. Lord, make the nations see That men should brothers be And form one family The wide world o'er.

INTERESTING THINGS TO DO

For several hundred years, Scotland and England were bitter enemies. They fought many long wars and ferocious battles. Yet for the past two hundred years they have lived at peace as good neighbours under one king, one flag, and one government.

Canada and the United States have fought against each other in one war. Fear of the United States in 1867 made the Canadian provinces more willing to join together in Confederation. Now,

Canada and the United States are the best of friends.

Because we are unfriendly with some nations at the present time

does not mean that we need always be unfriendly with them.

We should try to be friendly with all nations, because the world is becoming one community. It takes only about as long nowadays to fly around the world as it did two hundred years ago to ride horseback from the south of England to the north of Scotland. Many people believe that we must soon have one government for the whole world.

The United Nations is not yet a world government; but it is the closest we have ever come to putting the whole world under the same laws. If there is someone in your town or city who is particularly interested in the United Nations, ask him to speak to your class.

Getting to know and understand the people in other nations is one of the best ways of working towards peace in the world. Many Canadian students become friendly with students of other nations by being Pen Pals. The members of your class should try to get Pen Pals in as many countries as possible. You might have a world map in your room and place a flag in each place where a member of the class has a Pen Pal.

The Red Cross has representatives in practically every community in Canada. A Red Cross worker might be invited to your class to tell you about the fine work being done to help people wherever trouble strikes in the world.

Study the illustrated map of Canada on page 294, and on a

separate sheet of paper answer the following questions:

(a) What are the basic industries of each of the provinces? (b) Is lobster fishing carried on on the Pacific Coast? (c) What fish plays an important part in the economy of British Columbia? (d) Do you find any evidence of danger to shipping in the Atlantic Ocean? (e) Where, in Canada, is oil found? (f) What animal which lives in the sea provides a valuable industry for the people of Labrador and Newfoundland? (g) What animals are still hunted for their furs? (h) For what is the Yukon chiefly famous? (i) In what province is the capital of Canada? (j) What evidences do you find of the continued presence in Canada of the Indians? (k) In what provinces is fruit farming engaged in? (l) What provinces have been called "the world's granary?" (m) What remnants of earlier agricultural methods are found in Quebec? (n) What is one of the principal sources of food for the Eskimo?

Starting Points for Class Discussion

1. Can you remember any time when looking at things from the other fellow's viewpoint would have saved someone you know from

making unkind remarks and causing trouble?

2. Wars and quarrels between nations have often been caused by distrust and suspicion. Getting to know each other is the best way to cure the old unfriendly feelings. In what ways are people becoming acquainted with other nations nowadays? Discuss films, travel, books, radio, international sports.

3. What have school children in Canada done since 1945 to

help the children in the war-damaged countries?

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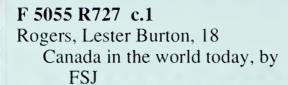


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